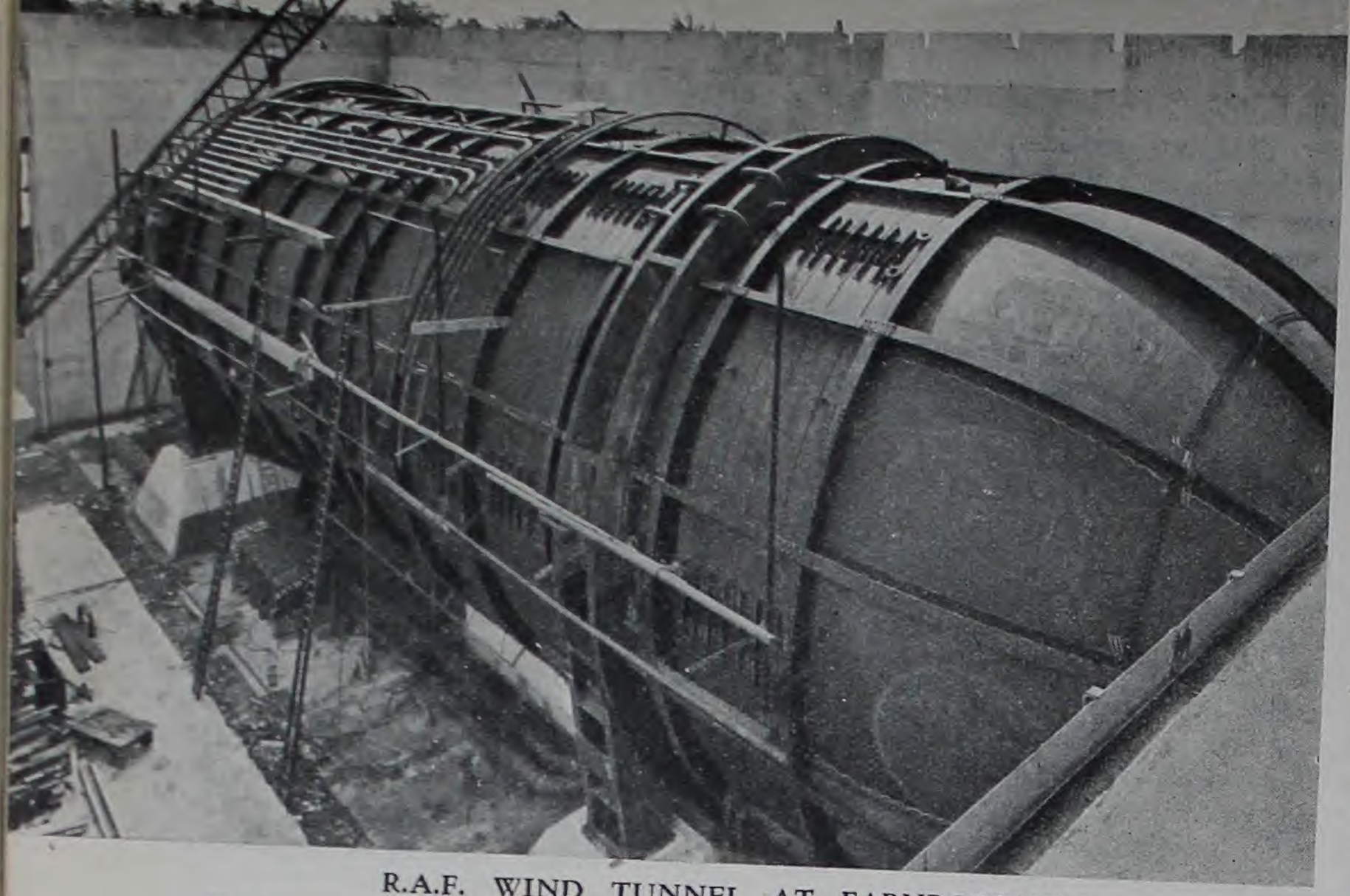


R.A.F. WIND TUNNEL AT FARNBOROUGH

This enormous wind tunnel for testing models of Britain's fighting aircraft, at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, Hants, contributed to the R.A.F.'s efficiency. Begun in 1938, it could reproduce atmospheric conditions as found in any part of the world. Quarter-size aircraft models, fully rigged and placed on a balance in the interior, were subjected to flying conditions at almost any speed, temperature and altitude.

By permission of H.M. Stationery Office

230-lb., and no advantage was to be obtained by increasing the weight of aircraft depth charges, for the lethal hemisphere resulting from the underwater explosion was enlarged but slightly even with great increases in the weight of explosive. Depth charges were hydrostatically detonated to explode at predetermined depths, and much as a bomber attacking a land objective at one period of the war dropped a horizontal "stick" of bombs, the anti-U-boat aircraft could drop a vertical stick of depth charges which would straddle the submarine hemispherically.

Developments in aircraft guns, gun and bomb sights, rocket projectiles are described in Chapter 333. Developments in pyrotechnics included marker bombs, sky markers, and photo-flash bombs. Early in the war British night bombers flew singly and lit up their own targets. Accuracy of bombing was poor. The development of pyrotechnics led to the pathfinder method of target location. Marker bombs were the normal 500-lb. bomb case filled with small magnesium cartridges which scattered after the bomb had fallen a certain distance and lit up an area for three minutes. Sky markers were similar but remained suspended at cloud level. Flash bombs for night photography operated automatically when dropped and gave an intense light for one-tenth of a second. The R.A.F. used 1,000,000 candle power cartridges for low altitude, and 200,000,000 candle power flash bombs for greater altitude photography. The U.S.A.A.F. undertook night photography from greater heights, and to photograph the greater area in a single exposure used 700,000,000 candle power flash bombs.

Pyrotechnic Developments

The only revolutionary aeroplane used operationally by the Allies was the British Gloster Meteor twin-jet fighter. All other Allied aircraft were developments of previously existing types, both in airframe and in prime movers. Britain's initial jet-plane was the Gloster E/28 which first flew in May 1941 with one Whittle unit. The Meteor appeared in time to take part in the battle of the flying bombs. It was first fitted with Rolls Royce Welland and later with Derwent units, with a speed steadily increasing until with Derwent V units, it flew at 606 m.p.h. in November 1945.

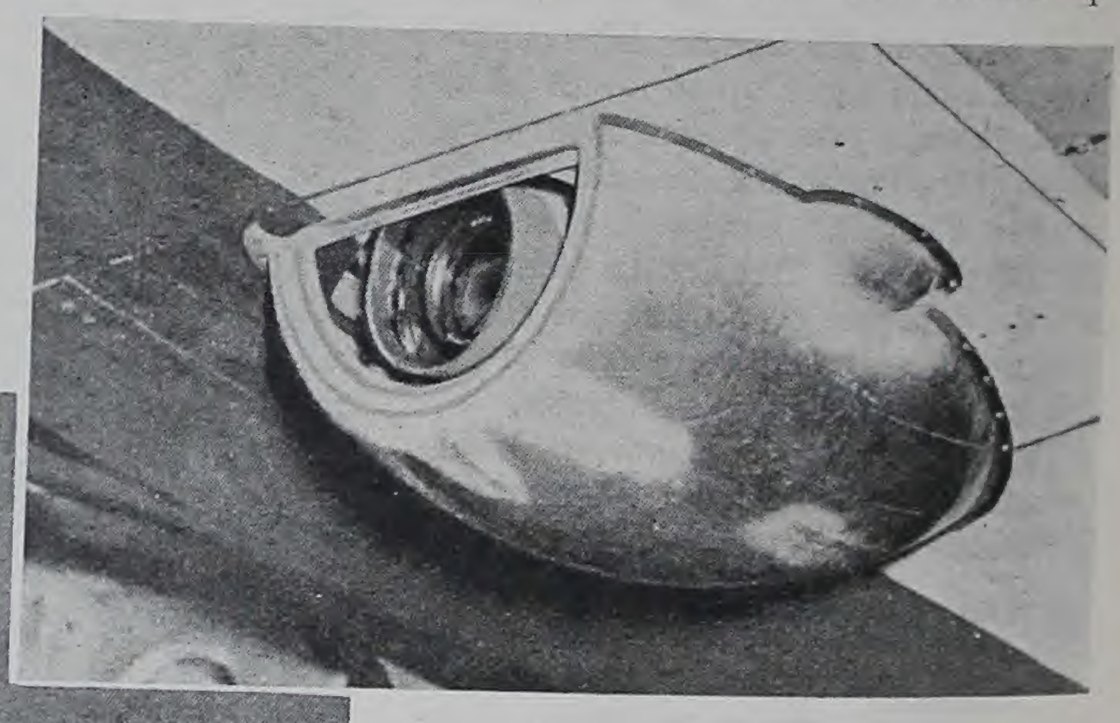
The Gloster Meteor

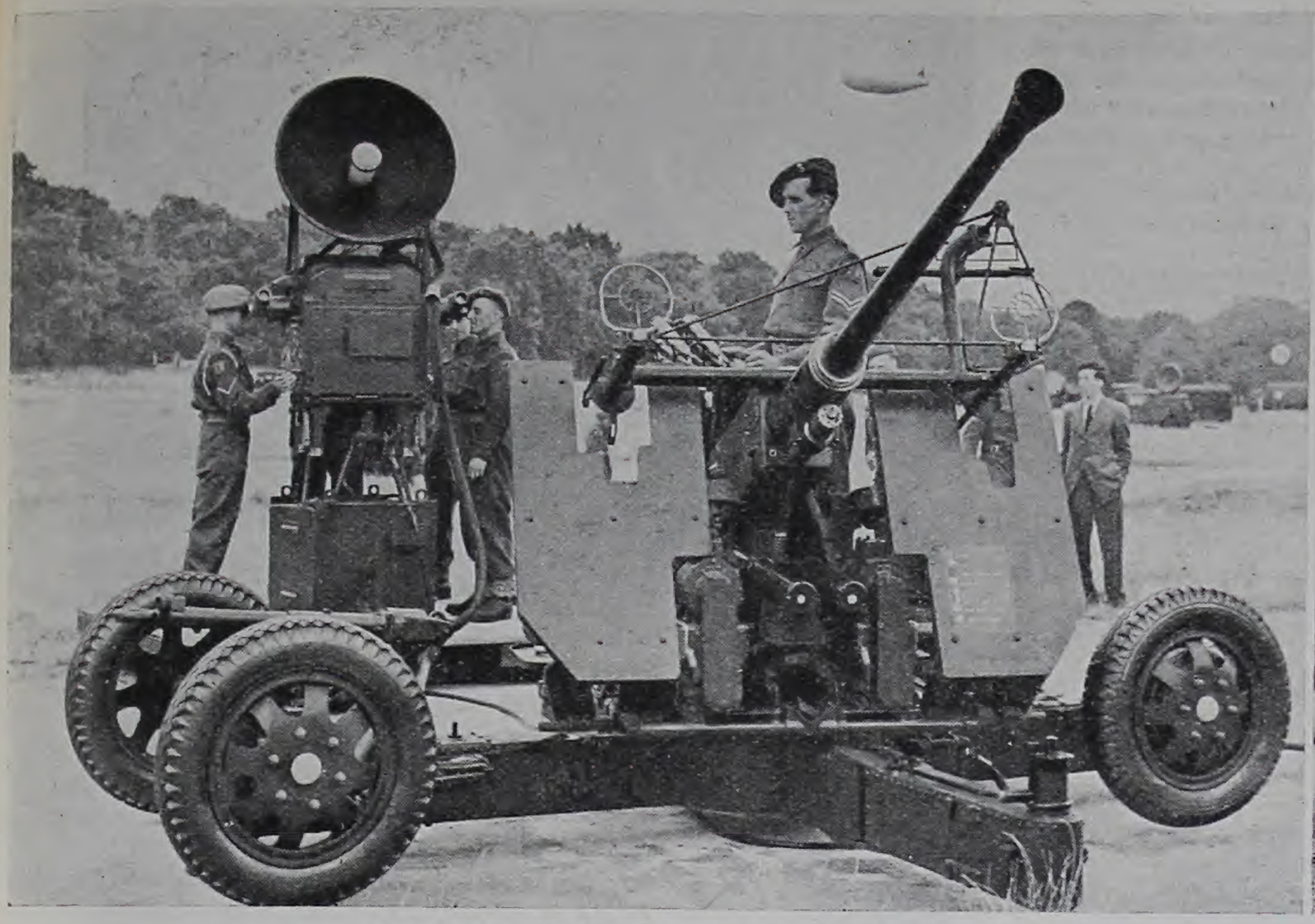
Germany was the only country to fly jet-bombers before the end of the war. One was the Arado 234B light bomber with a top speed of 470 m.p.h. and able to carry 4,000 lb. of bombs. Its successor, the 234C, with four BMW-003 jet units, had a top speed

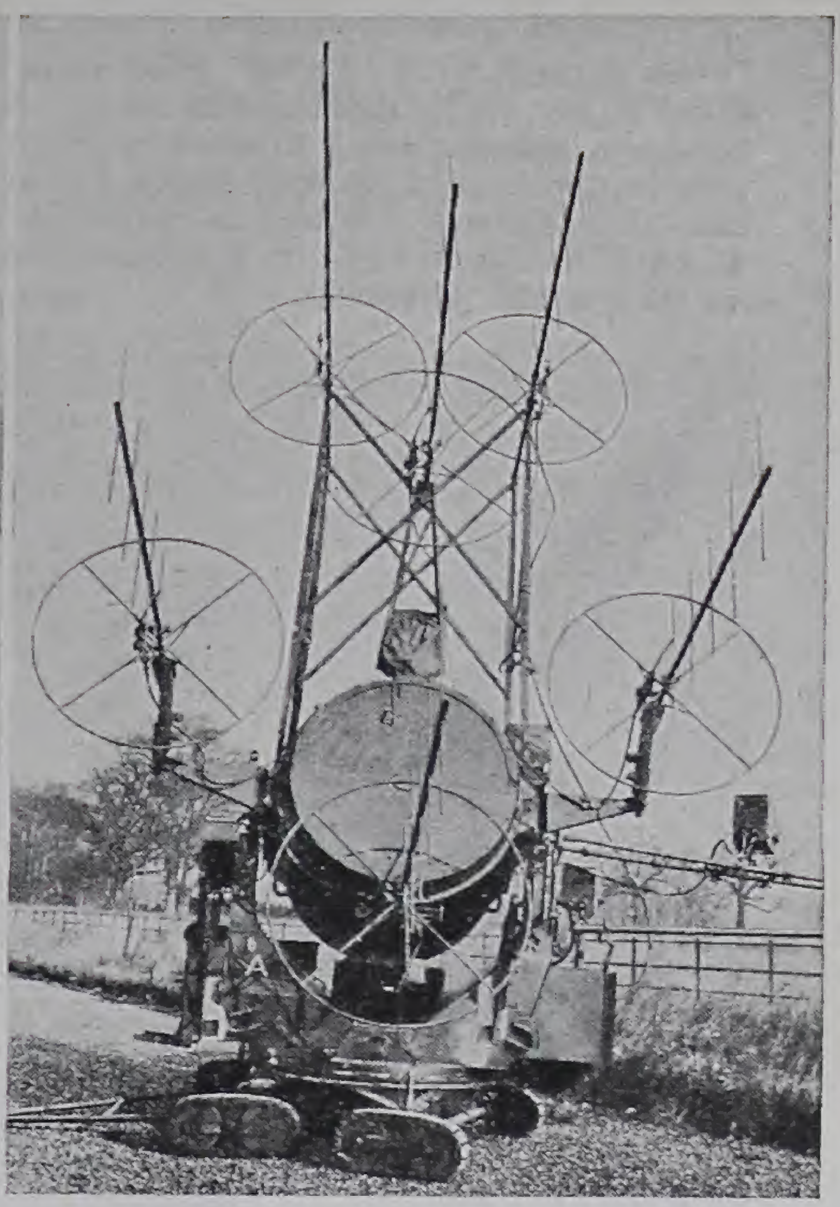
ENEMY RADAR INSTALLATIONS DETECTED

R.A.F. reconnaissance photographs over Cap de la Hague, France, in November 1940 revealed emplacements which had not been there a month earlier. Air Ministry experts called for special low-altitude oblique pictures to be taken which revealed that the Germans were using radar. Right, camera, fitted to the port wing of a Spitfire, used for the low-level 'shots,' one of which is reproduced below.

Photos, British Official







RADAR'S PART IN A.A. DEFENCE

Radar equipment (see also page 3545) employed by Britain's A.A. crews to assist in the shooting down of flying bombs. Left, 40-mm. Bofors predictor and radar controlled light A.A. gun. Right, mobile searchlight equipped with radar aerials which enabled the beam to find its target automatically. *Photos, British Official*

of 540 m.p.h., and was the world's fastest bomber. Junkers had a medium bomber, the Ju.287, with six of these units; it had a crew of three, a maximum bomb load of nearly 10,000 lb., a range of 1,175 miles with three tons of bombs, and a maximum speed of over 530 m.p.h. Only the Arado 234B and the Messerschmitt 262 fighter-bomber flew operationally.

The Germans developed numerous unorthodox air weapons. Rocket development in Germany began privately, early in the 20th century, and attracted official military notice with the advent of Hitler's regime in 1933. Development work continued in Berlin until the Peenemünde research station was set up in 1937-38. Ten rockets (A1 to A10) were designed, but only one, the A4 (known as the V2, *see* Chapter 337) was used in war operations. The first three were short range rockets, leading up to the production of the A4. The A9 was an A4 fitted with wings to increase the range by gliding descent instead of the parabolic curve of the wingless A4. The A10 was intended to convert the A9 into a two-stage rocket, weighing in combination about 100 tons. The A10 was to boost the A9 into the stratosphere, where the fuel-exhausted A10 was to be discarded, leaving the A9 to continue its flight; this rocket, which remained a project, was to have bombarded New York from Normandy at a range of about 3,000 miles.

German Rocket Research

Two rocket interceptor aircraft were designed, and one, the Messerschmitt 163, became operational towards the end of 1944. This tailless aeroplane was fitted with a Walter bifuel rocket unit weighing 415 lb. At full power the fuel was consumed in about 4½ minutes, but the aircraft could climb to 40,000 feet in slightly more than three minutes. Its top speed was about 590 m.p.h.

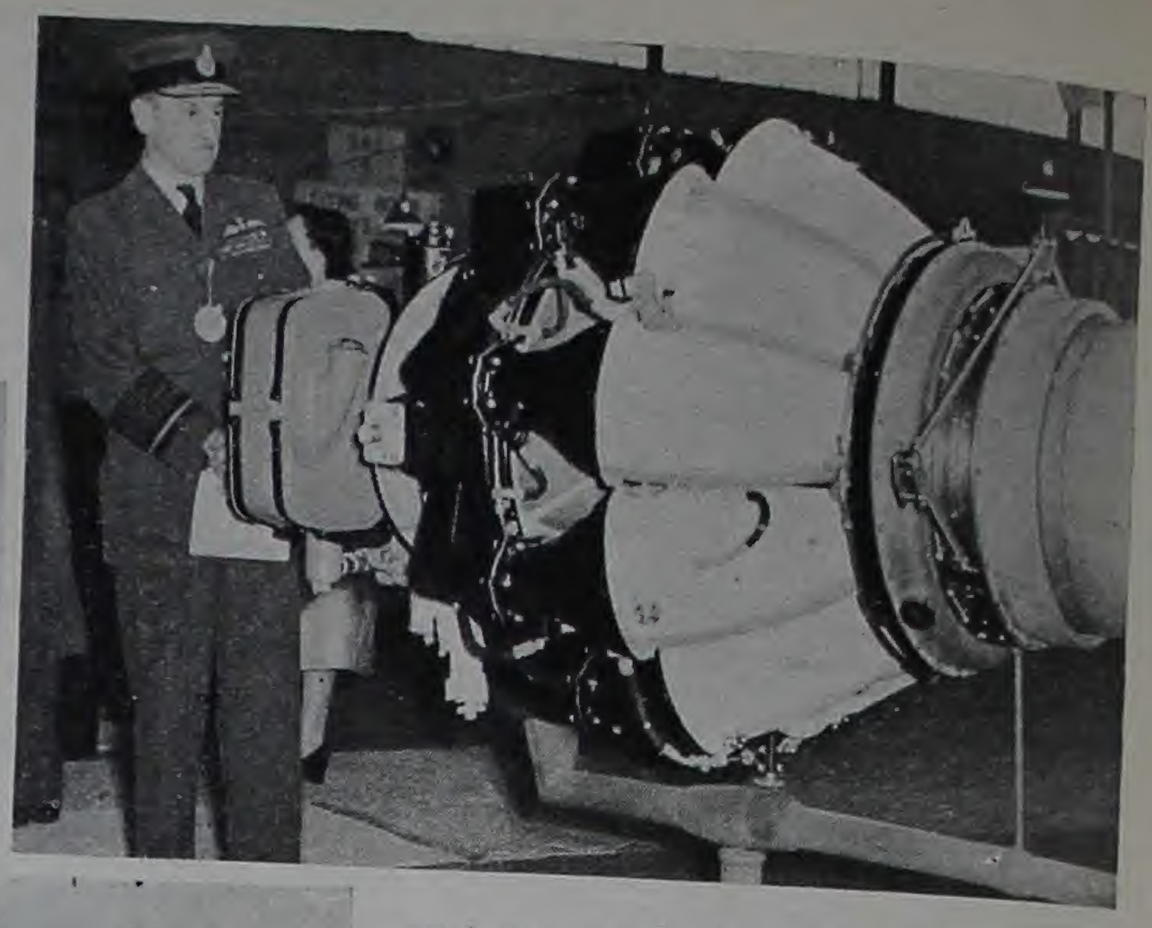
The Natter (Viper) aircraft was propelled into the air at an angle of 75 degrees by two solid fuel rocket assisters which carried it to 5,000 feet. The pilot then continued his climb with a

W.A.A.F. 'GHOST VOICE' UPSET THE LUFTWAFFE

An important part of Britain's struggle against the Luftwaffe was the disturbance of German radio communications. Although this usually consisted in 'jamming' an enemy signal with a more powerful one of the same frequency, German-speaking members of the W.A.A.F. often broadcast counter-orders. Here, a 'ghost voice' W.A.A.F. sits at the microphone. The gramophone was used for jumbled-voice jamming. *Photo, British Official*

BRITAIN'S JET-PROPELLED 'METEOR'

Details of the R.A.F.'s 'Meteor' jet-propelled fighter (below) were disclosed in July 1945. First flown in 1943, it was used against the flying bombs the following year. Powered by two gas jet turbines, its dimensions included : span, 43 feet ; length, 41 feet ; wing area, 374 square feet. It was armed with four 20-mm. Hispano guns. Right, Marshal of the R.A.F. Lord Portal of Hungerford inspects a Derwent jet-unit as fitted to the 'Meteor.' *Photos, British Official; G.P.U.*



Walter rocket unit using liquid bi-fuel. This little aircraft, with 18 feet span wings, was to climb at 37,000 feet a minute and destroy a bomber with its battery of rocket projectiles. The pilot was then ejected, the aircraft broke in two, and the pilot and the rear half containing the rocket unit descended by separate parachutes.

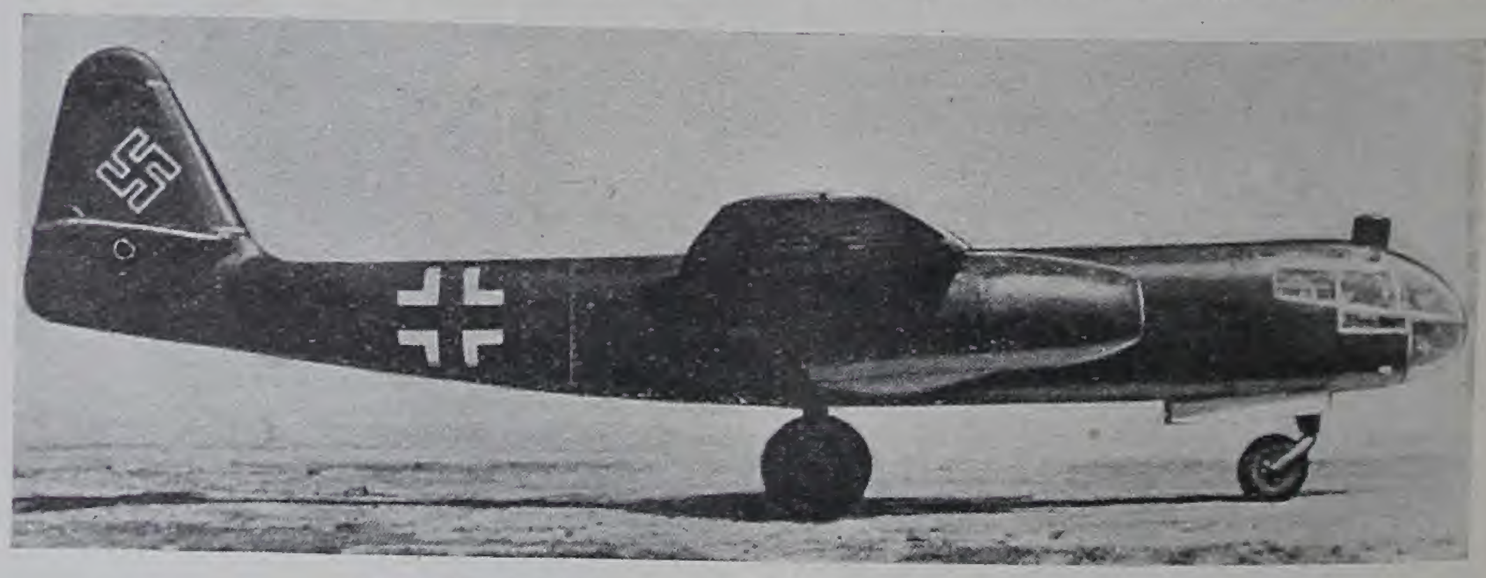
These attempts to intercept Allied bombers by rocket aircraft with almost vertical climbing power indicated all too clearly that the German warning system was not good enough to enable the normal methods of interception to be used. And it is true that warning intelligence of air attack reached its highest development in the combined work of British scientists and British air staff. In August 1940 a team of British scientists with three service officers went to America to discuss radar. They found that the Americans had radar naval gun ranging, but no radar for detection of air attack, and no airborne radar. Britain was then far ahead of the rest of the world in the technical development of radar ; America profited by British knowledge, and in turn supplied radar sets to the anti-aircraft guns that shot down a large proportion of the flying bombs in 1944.

Radar Interception

British and American bombers used radar sets for navigation, both by signal systems, and by radar echo-signal mapping of the ground flown over, some navigators preferring the H2S method of navigation to any other. H2S enabled blind bombing to be carried out, and eventually made it possible to blind-bomb targets only 500 yards from Allied troops. It was possible for bombers to distinguish friendly from enemy fighters by radar ; and radar, if working, made the identification of friendly aircraft by ground defences simple and certain. Unfortunately, aircraft sometimes returned home with their radar instruments damaged by enemy flak or aircraft gunfire, and some were shot down by naval defences when flying half-crippled and unable to signal. The efficiency of radar-controlled naval anti-aircraft gunfire was in such cases all too tragically demonstrated.

Importance of Radar

But no other wartime development approached the importance of the atomic bomb, either as a scientific achievement or as a military weapon. Hitherto man had used chemical power, in fire, explosives, fuel. Here was a new source of power, derived from the fission of the inner core of the atom, and not, as in



GERMANY'S JET-PROPELLED BOMBER

Towards the end of the war, the Luftwaffe was flying a new type of jet-propelled aircraft, the Ar 234B light bomber. It could carry up to 4,000 lb. of bombs and had a top speed of about 470 m.p.h. Regarded as a successful design, it was fitted with Junkers-Jumo 004 jet units. The projection above the cockpit is a fairing for the periscopic bombsight and gunsight. (See also illus. in page 3393.) *Photo, British Official*

chemical change, by the alteration of its outer envelope. The atomic bomb derived its energy from the actual disruption of matter. Part of the energy thus released was communicated to the surrounding atmosphere, with a consequent rapid rise of air temperature which caused the expanding air to exert great pressure in a blast wave. Part of the energy took the form of radiation over wavelengths which included infra-red, visible light, ultra violet, X-rays, and probably other rays, covering a range of wavelengths from $\frac{1}{100}$ to $\frac{1}{10000000000}$ cm.

The chemical energy released by the detonation of a normal explosive releases heat locally, but obtains its destructive power from the conversion of the bomb's contents into a gas whose pressure produces a blast wave, similar to but less powerful than that produced by the atomic bomb. The normal bomb does not produce radiation, whose effects on humanity and combustible materials played a major part in the appalling destructiveness of this new weapon.

By 1911 Lord Rutherford had discovered how the atom is constructed, with most of its weight in a nucleus, which carries an immense electric charge. In 1919 he split an atom by shooting a light nucleus at a heavier one, despite their mutually repellant nature. In 1932 Sir James Chadwick discovered the neutron, which has no electric charge, and can therefore be used to bombard the nucleus more easily. Light elements break up into very unequal parts, but in 1938 Professor Hahn of Berlin, a former pupil of Rutherford's, found that atoms of uranium 235 break into two almost equal parts moving at tremendous speed and with the liberation of enormous energy. In splitting, these atoms give off neutrons which attack other atoms and split them in a chain reaction. This process is controllable in pieces of uranium 235 of certain dimensions, which limited the size of the atomic bomb.

British Atomic Research

Ordinary uranium contains three types of atom of atomic weights 238, 235, and 234, the last two being present only in proportions of 0·7 and 0·006 per cent respectively. The separation of the rare uranium 235 had first to be accomplished in sufficient quantity to produce the material for the atomic explosion on a military scale instead of on that of a laboratory experiment. This was the process which entailed the enormous plants set up in the United States in connexion with the manufacture of the atomic bomb (e.g. *see* illus. in page 3850).

By the summer of 1941 British scientists had reached a stage of development which indicated that an atomic bomb might be produced before the end of the war. On October 11, 1941, President Roosevelt wrote to Mr. Churchill suggesting co-ordinated and joint British and American effort. By the summer of 1942 this joint scientific work had confirmed the earlier British forecasts, and it was decided to build full-scale production plants in the United States, with participation in Canada.

A race had begun between the Allies and Germany for atomic weapons. Heavy water (one part of which is found in 4,000 parts of water) is an essential part of one process for atomic fission. Before the war its manufacture was almost exclusive to Norway, at the Norsk Hydro Company plant at Rjukan. The French had acquired almost the whole world stock—165 litres—from Norsk Hydro just before the German invasion, and Britain obtained this from France before her defeat. But it was recognized that the possession by Germany of this factory was a potential danger to the Allies. Two attempts were made to sabotage the factory, the second successful (*see* page 3202).

Most of the subsequent experimental work on atomic bombs was conducted at Los Alamos in New Mexico. At 5·30 a.m. on July 16, 1945, at Alamogordo, 160 miles away in the desert, the world's first atomic bomb was exploded on a 100-feet high steel tower. Watchers 20 miles away saw a fire ball far brighter than the sun, and the scrub-covered hills around them were lit up as by the midday sun, then a coloured cloud boiled upward to 40,000 feet. Heavy pressure waves knocked down two men who were outside the control tower 10,000 yards from the explosion. The tower from which the bomb had been suspended was destroyed, the stones on the desert were fused.

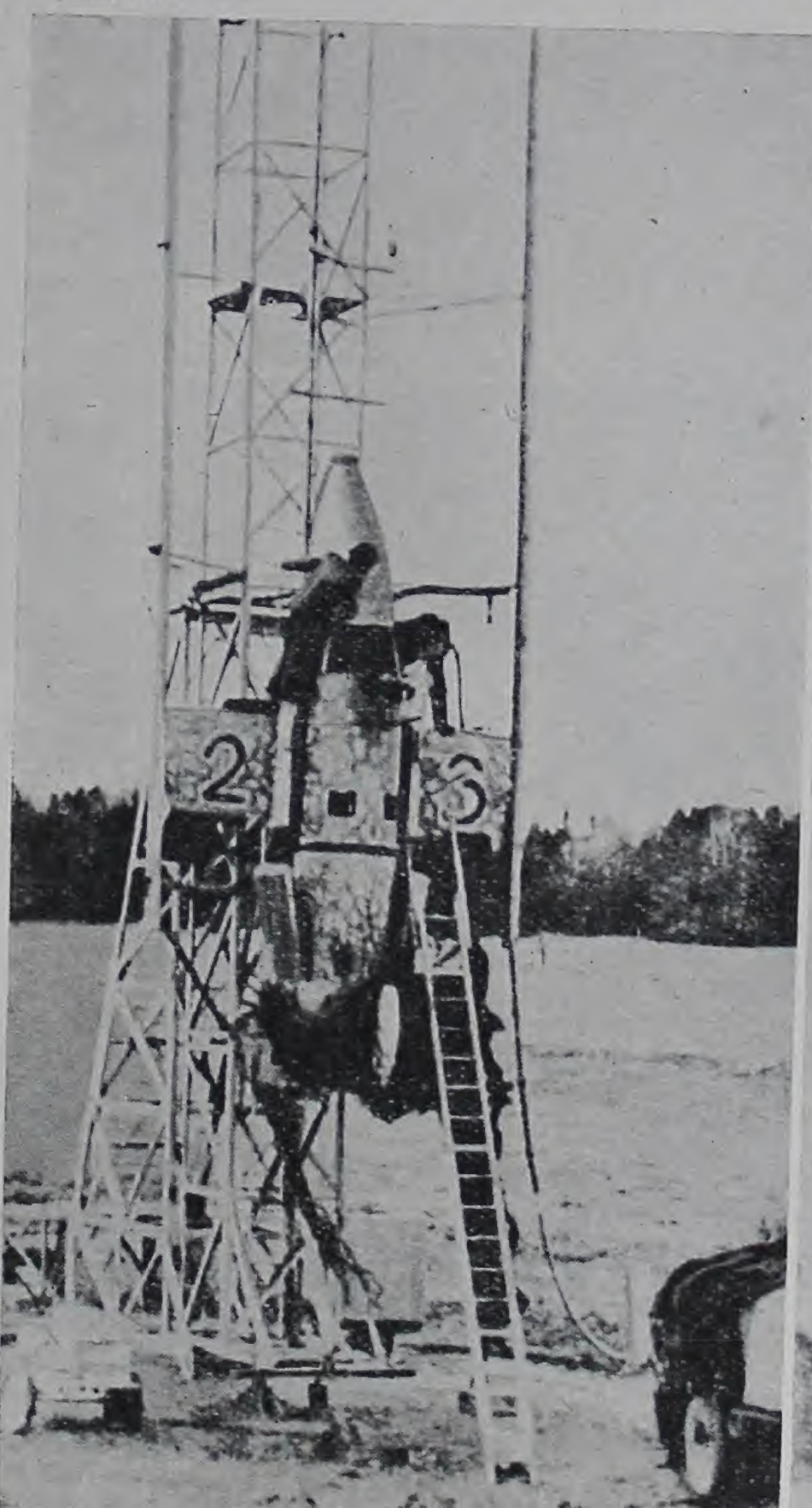
First Atomic Bomb Exploded

At the Berlin Conference of 1945, (*see* Chapter 380) it was decided to use

GERMAN 'VIPERS' WERE NEVER USED

Before the end of the war the Germans were producing a rocket-propelled, piloted missile known as the 'Natter' ('Viper'). Although never used operationally, it was designed to attack aircraft with cannon, rockets or by ramming. The pilot was able to eject himself mechanically before ramming. Left, a 'Natter' on its launching-structure, and (right) after its almost vertical take-off.

Photos, Associated Press



the atomic bomb against Japan. The first bomb left the United States in the care of Brigadier-General Thomas Farrell nine days before it fell on Hiroshima. Major-General Leslie R. Groves commanded the project and co-ordinated preparations for launching it.

On August 6, 1945, the sirens wailed over the undamaged city of Hiroshima as a single Super-Fortress flying at 30,000 feet approached shortly after eight in the morning. Eye-witnesses on the ground said they saw a blinding white flash above the mercantile quarter. This was followed by a rush of air, a loud rumbling sound, the crashing of disintegrating and falling buildings, settling darkness, and an all-pervading cloud of dust. Innumerable fires sprang up among the city buildings.

Colonel P. W. Tibbets, pilot, and Major Ferebee, bombardier, of the U.S.A.A.F., and Captain W. Parsons, of the U.S. Navy Ordnance service, flying in the aircraft saw a giant mushroom of smoke swirling over the doomed city at a thousand feet.

More than four square miles of Hiroshima were destroyed. At the time of the attack the population was estimated at 320,000, of whom 78,150 died, 13,983 were missing, and some 40,000 were injured. For comparison, in Great Britain, during the whole war, 60,595 civilians, including civil defence workers, were killed, or missing believed killed, including London's total of 30,000. (German V2 rocket bombs discharged against England killed an average of about 2.6 persons each—*see* page 3440.) At Hiroshima, 95 per cent of all who were within a quarter of a mile, 85 per cent of those between a quarter and half a mile of the explosion centre died.

Casualties at Hiroshima

Just after 11 a.m. on August 9, 1945, another atomic bomb was dropped and exploded over the industrial area between the two large Mitsubishi Ordnance plants in the Urakami valley district of Nagasaki. Ground witnesses said they saw three parachutes drop before the fireball flashed. The population of Nagasaki was estimated at just over 260,000, but fewer than 100,000 were exposed to the explosion owing to the shelter given by hills to other parts of the city. Casualty figures given by the American Medical Association in July 1946 were 40,000 dead and 25,000 injured.

In both places city life and industry came to a full stop. Disposal of the dead was a major problem. The only buildings that stood up to the blast within a wide radius were steel-framed heavy concrete structures. Ordinary load-bearing walls collapsed. Steel-trussed factory buildings and gas-holders were destroyed or distorted. Overhead electric supply, telephone, telegraph, and tramway cables were severely damaged to distances of from half a mile to a mile around the centre of explosion, but underground gas and water pipes were undamaged by the explosion, which was high up in the air.

Flashburn damaged materials, set clothes on fire at distances of a mile and a half, and caused mild burns to human beings at over $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Within the central area of intense heat the bodies of human beings left on the asphalt roads whereon they walked, or the polished stone whereon they sat or leaned at the moment of catastrophe, a shadow-like area of unscorched surface. Innumerable fires were caused by indirect means (such as braziers in falling buildings), aided by the high temperature and dryness of the scorched materials.

Apart from those who died from the explosion, flashburn, and mechanical injuries caused by the destruction of the city, many were burned to death while trapped in blazing buildings. Another major cause of death came from exposure to gamma rays. These killed the human bone marrow, source of cell supply to the blood. Nausea, vomiting, fever, bloody diarrhoea, loss of hair, internal haemorrhage, infection and gangrene brought slow death in from one to eight weeks. Among many who survived there was continuing debilitation. Pregnant women miscarried, aborted or suffered premature births. And the reproductive capacity of both men and women was severely, possibly permanently, damaged.

DAMAGED HIROSHIMA AFTER THE ATOMIC BOMB ATTACK

This photographic diagram issued by the U.S.A.A.F. on August 9, 1945, shows the damage done to Hiroshima by the atomic bomb three days earlier. The large circle is 6,330 yards in diameter and shaded areas show devastated sectors. 1. Army transport base, 25% destroyed ; 2. Army ordnance depot ; 3. Army food depot, 35% ; 4. Army clothing depot, 85% ; 5. E. Hiroshima railway station, 30% ; 6. Unidentified industry, 90% ; 7. Sumitono rayon plant, 25% ; 8. Kinkwa rayon mill, 10% ; 9. Toikoku textile mill, 100% ; 10. Power plant ; 11. Oil storage, on fire ; 12. Electric railway power station, 100% ; 13. Electric power generator, 100% ; 14. Telephone offices, 100% ; 15. Gas works, 100% ; 16. Hiroshima railway station, 100% ; 17. Unidentified railway station, 100% ; 18–30 Bridges, most of them unusable through damage.

Photo, Associated Press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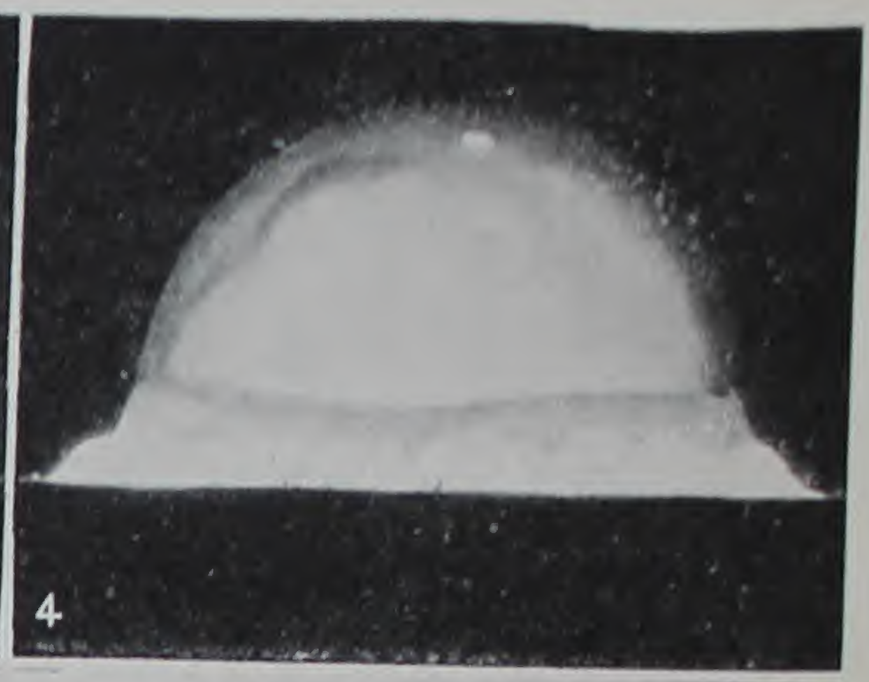
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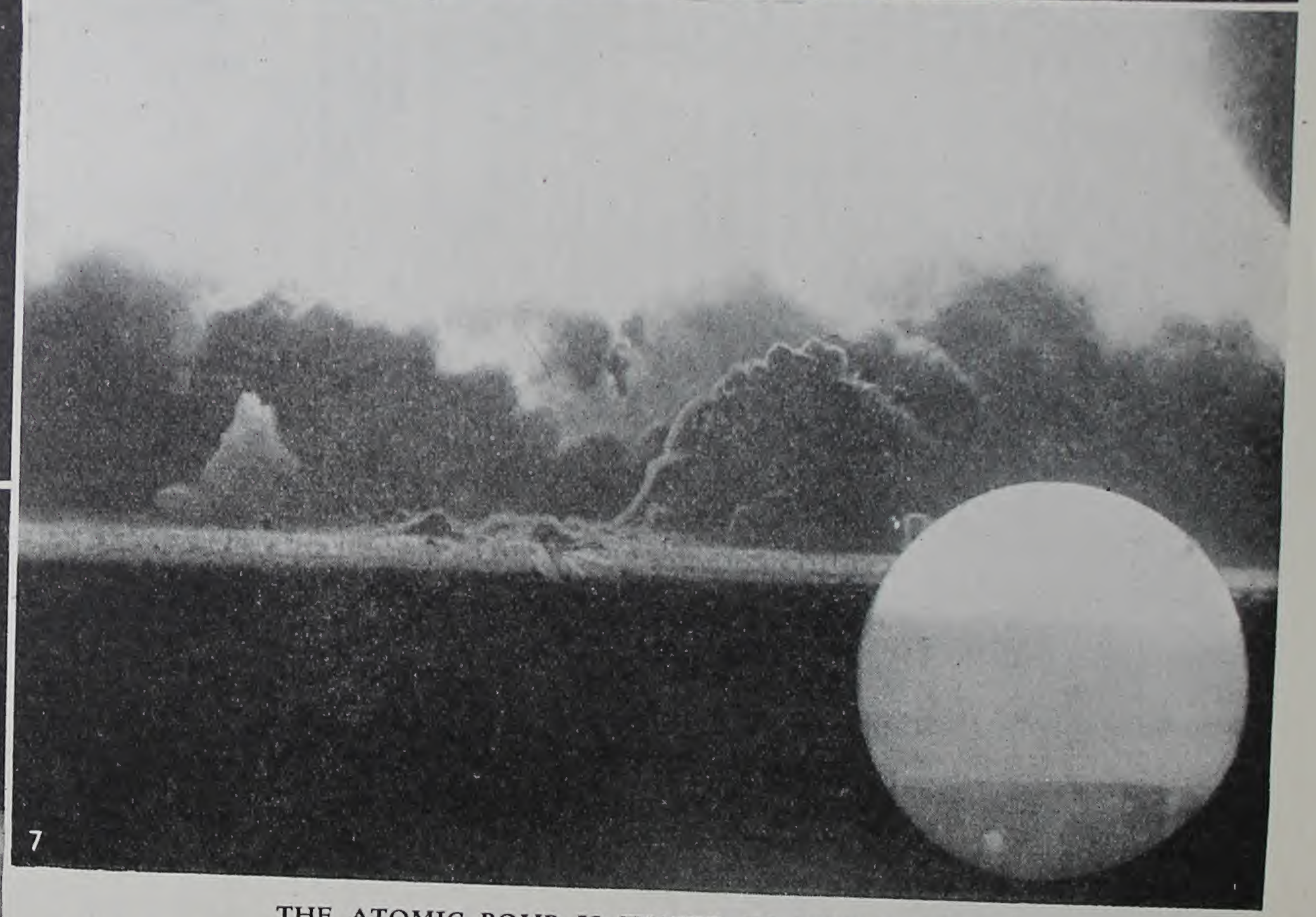
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THE ATOMIC BOMB IS TESTED IN NEW MEXICO

With the aid of a special camera focused at a range of six miles, U.S. scientists secured this remarkable series of photographs of the explosion of the atomic bomb during its test at Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945. The bomb was suspended from a steel tower. 1. Cloud—that later rose to a height of 40,000 feet—begins to form. 2. Multi-coloured and egg-shaped now, the cloud swells and 3. and 4. assumes the shape of a pith helmet, white hot. (Black spots are flashes of light so brilliant that they reversed a photographic negative). 5. The base begins to disintegrate and 6. the head blows off sending up a gigantic mushroom of flame and multi-coloured gas or smoke, 7. (See also colour plate facing page 3862.)

Photos, U.S. Army

Chapter 380

GERMANY UNDER ALLIED CONTROL

In Chapter 355, Dr. Frederik Heymann told the history of Germany during the last months of the crumbling Nazi regime, up to the surrender of all German forces on May 8, 1945. Here he continues her history to the end of the year, after her occupation by the Allies. The record is chiefly one of laborious efforts by the Allies to raise her out of the chaos of destruction, wretchedness and hunger into which she had fallen

FOLLOWING the unconditional surrender of the German fighting forces on May 8, 1945 (*see* page 3640 and illus. in pages 3639), Admiral Doenitz, the members of his so-called "Government" (which the Allies had never recognized), and the German High Command were arrested by order of the Supreme Allied Commander on May 23. When troops arrived to arrest him, Admiral von Friedeburg, who signed the German capitulations at Lüneburg (*see* page 3668 and 3671), Rheims (*see* page 3805) and Berlin (*see* page 3651), requested permission to collect some clothes, locked himself into his bathroom, and committed suicide by taking poison.

In all the other countries occupied by the Allies after military victory, there was a central government and a more or less intact administration with which they could deal. There was no such thing in Germany which, after the breakdown of the Nazi regime, was in a state of chaos. Civil administration was completely disrupted; so also were transport, trade, industry and public services. The heads and employees of local authorities, and in particular the Nazis among them, had often fled, and what in many of Germany's larger and medium cities had remained intact through all air attacks—it was little enough—had frequently been destroyed in the last moment by senselessly prolonged resistance.

The picture of prostrate Germany with which the occupying armies were faced was, indeed, quite unbelievable. The state of most of the big cities was incomparably worse than anything seen in London, Bristol or Coventry. There were, of course, differences from one place to another, but a German city of, say, half a million inhabitants which had a third of its buildings and dwellings standing counted as one that had fared comparatively well. Many smaller places, such as Würzburg or Hanau had, except for a few houses on the outskirts, disappeared from the earth. The larger towns of the Rhineland and the Ruhr had suffered worst, but some places in the south-west had suffered hardly less severely.

Most of the countryside—apart from the zones where heavy fighting had occurred—had been hardly touched. But there, too, communications were damaged or destroyed.

Smashed Public Utilities

Railway lines were smashed, road and railway bridges had been demolished in their hundreds, if not thousands, by the retreating German armies right up to the last few days before the surrender, even in places where this demolition could not have the slightest military value. Water, gas, electricity were hardly anywhere in working order. In many places no coal was available. The machinery of food distribution had largely broken down, and here and there the people helped themselves by looting Wehrmacht dumps.

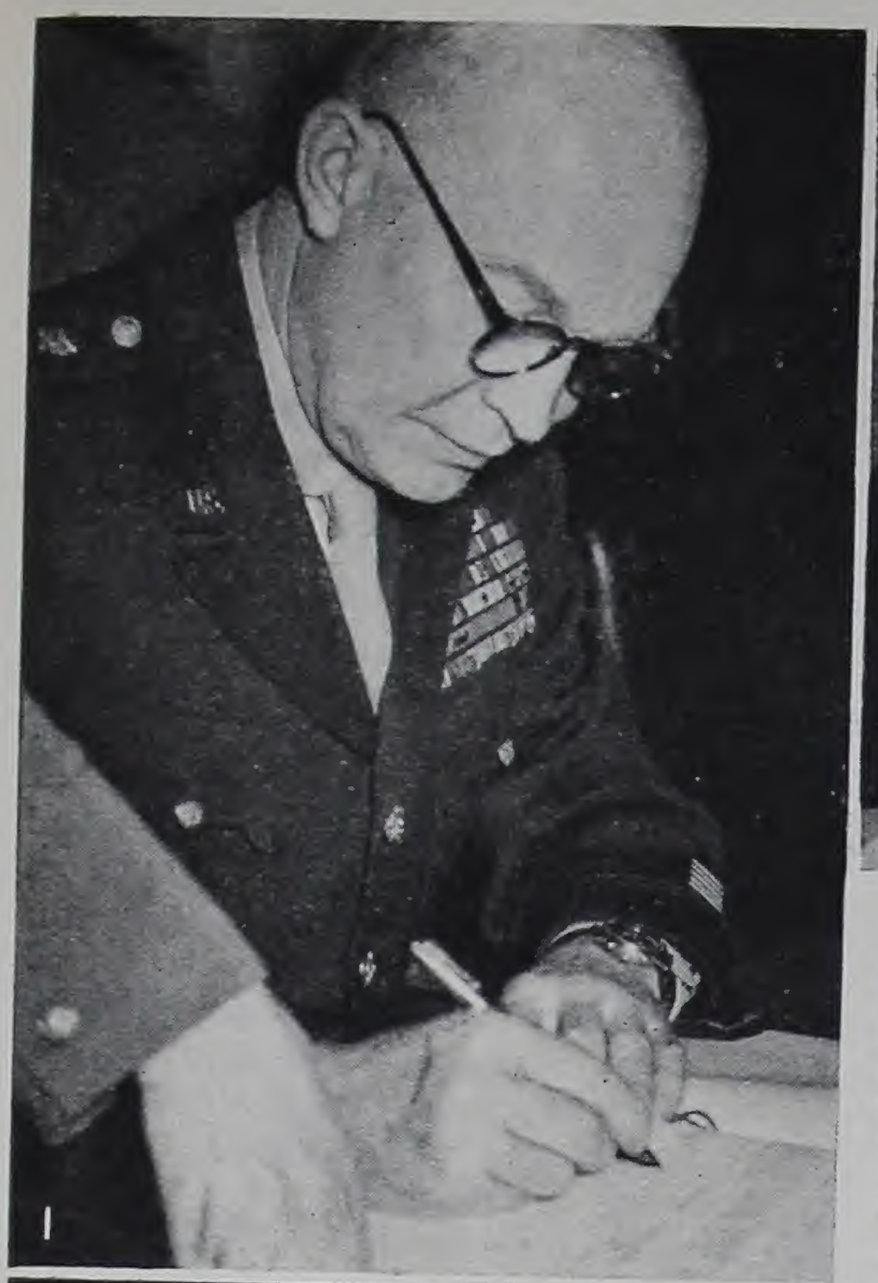
The Allies had expected some sort of guerilla resistance, that was one of the reasons for forbidding private intercourse with Germans by Allied troops, the so-called rule of non-fraternization. There was no such resistance, apart from a very few isolated instances. It soon became clear that it was not German "Wehrwölfe" or any other guerilla groups which had to be feared and fought, but rather the danger of a complete dissolution of the social order—and the probable spread of uncontrollable epidemics as a result.

Thus when on June 5 the Allied Control Council—consisting of Field-Marshal Montgomery, Marshal Zhukov, General Eisenhower and General de Lattre de Tassigny, C.-in-C. respectively of British, Russian, U.S. and French forces of occupation—officially took over the government of Germany,

GERMANS HEAR NEWS OF THEIR DEFEAT

The German people heard the news of their country's unconditional surrender in a broadcast on May 7, 1945, by Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Foreign Minister in Admiral Doenitz's 'Government.' Below, a large crowd gathers in silence outside the Town Hall at Lüneburg, near which the surrender to the 21st Army Group was signed (see page 3666), to hear the news relayed from an Allied loudspeaker.

Photo, British Official



ALLIES IN BERLIN

At the first meeting of the Allied Control Commission, June 5, 1945: 1. General Eisenhower (U.S.) 2. Left to right, Sir William Strang, political adviser to Field-Marshal Montgomery; Field-Marshal Montgomery (Britain); and Lt.-General Sir R. Weeks. 3. Mr. Vyshinsky, Soviet Foreign Vice-Commissar, and Marshal Zhukov. 4. General de Tassigny (France).

their most urgent task was the reorganization of public life.

This task had actually started long before the final surrender. In Aachen, for instance, the first German city to be occupied by the Allies in the west, a new municipal administration was at work months before the end of the war. As early as March a German Burgomaster was appointed for Düsseldorf, and in April similar appointments were made in other cities in western Germany, among them Frankfort and Cologne. The Russians, too, appointed German municipal and *Kreis* (county) authorities immediately after taking over eastern Germany.

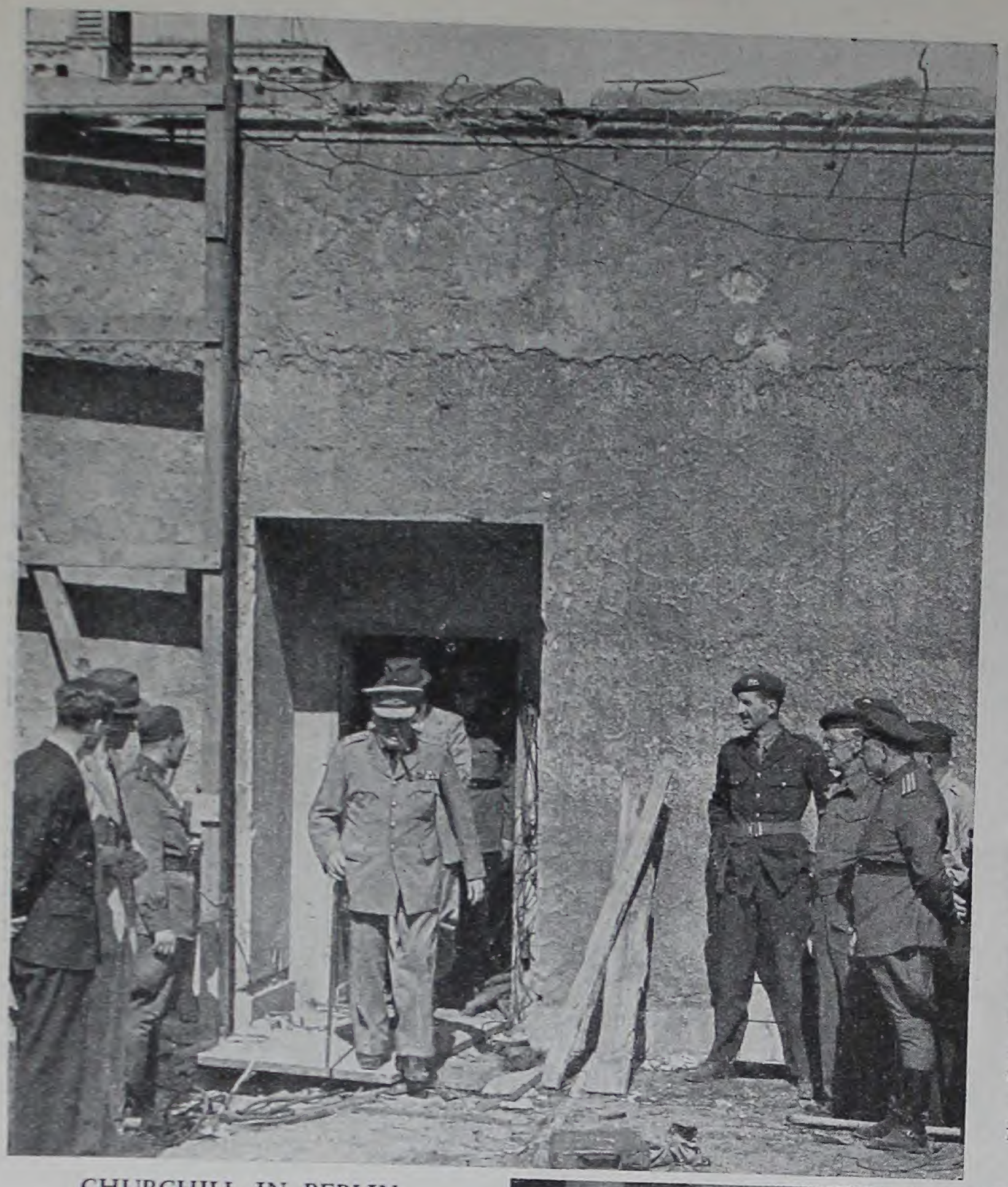
Reorganization Begins

Before the official end of hostilities the American Army took the first step in re-establishing a wider administration within the area it then occupied. By the end of May, a German Oberpräsident (title of the head of a province) had been appointed for the Palatinate and Hesse. At the beginning of June, similar appointments were made for the Rhineland and for Bavaria. In the latter province, a Roman Catholic politician, Dr. Friedrich Schaeffer, who had been dismissed from his post in 1933 and had been in Dachau, was charged with the task of forming a sort of provisional government for Bavaria with himself as Minister-präsident (Prime Minister). By July 13, little over a month after the end of hostilities, some form of German administration had been installed in about seventy per cent of Germany.

HITLER'S LAST STAMPS

Last stamps issued by the Nazis on April 22, 1945, ten days before Berlin surrendered, depicted troops of the S.S. and S.A. They were on sale for only two hours as the Russians blew up the post office where they were stored.

Re-establishment of a working administration was a hard task, mainly because of the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of people who were politically unobjectionable and, at the same time, experienced and efficient enough to do the job, even apart from the material problems that had to be



CHURCHILL IN BERLIN

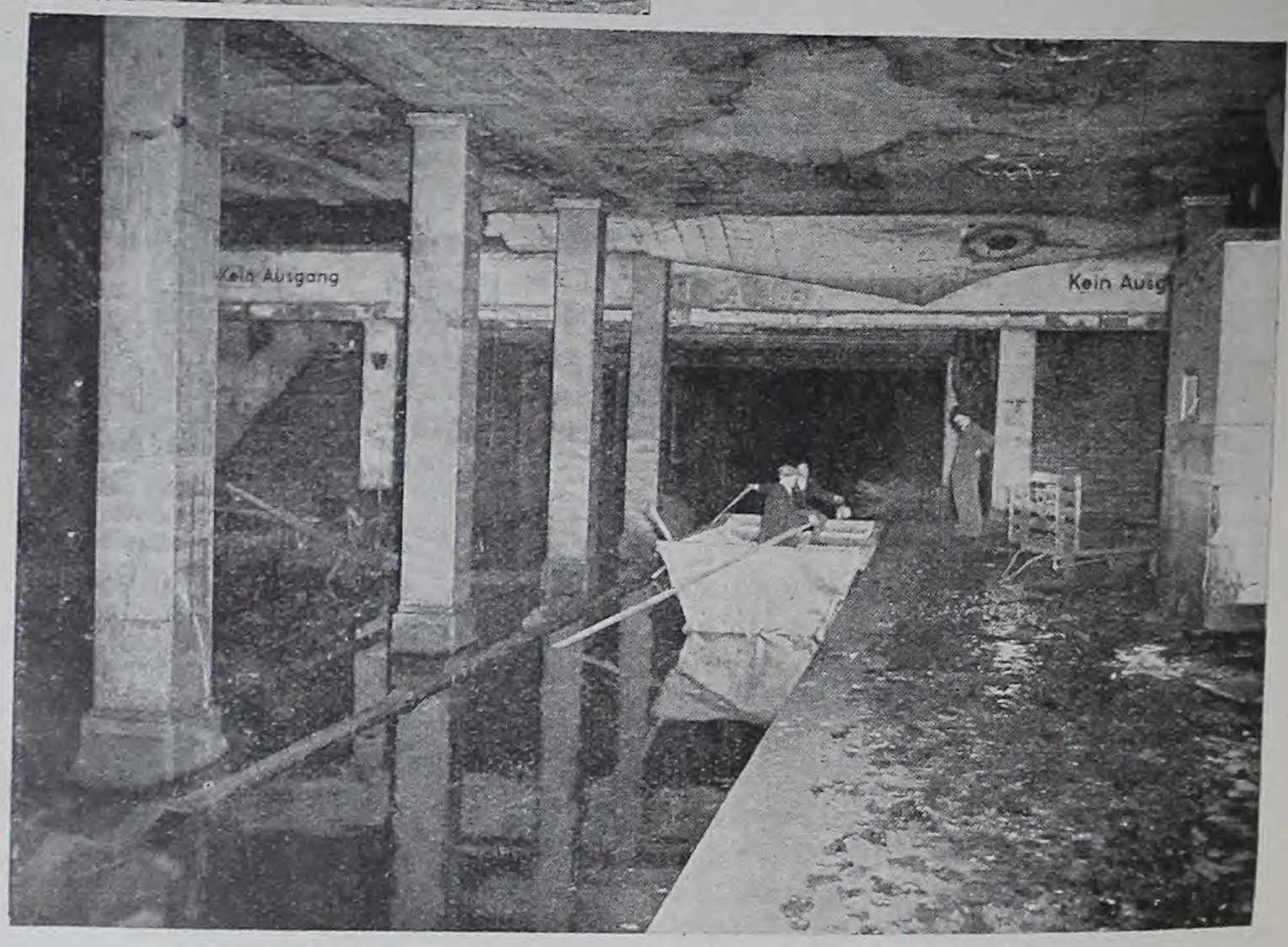
On July 16, 1945, the day after his arrival in Berlin for the Three Power conference at Potsdam (see page 3919), Mr. Churchill, Britain's Premier, made a long tour of the devastated areas of the city. In the khaki drill uniform of a colonel of the 4th Hussars, he here leaves the shelter in the Chancellery garden where Hitler died. *Photo, G.P.U.*

tackled. Of these, the most urgent was the restoration of communications and transport. This was as essential for the occupying armies, whose work depended on reliable rail and road transport, as for the German people who without it could not even be fed. The repairing and rebuilding of transport was undertaken with the energy and speed of a war measure, and the American Army had three main lines in working order very shortly after V.E. Day: the line from the French frontier to the Rhine at Mainz; from the Rhine opposite Mainz via Frankfort and Erfurt to Leipzig; and from Frankfort via Nuremberg and Munich to Passau and the Austrian frontier. With equal speed the 21st (British) Army Group restored the main lines of the north-west, mainly those through the Ruhr to Hanover and from there to Hamburg and Bremen. By the middle of September, some four-fifths of the German railway system within the western zones was working again. (*See* map in page 4033.)

The decision to divide Germany into four zones of occupation was taken at Yalta (*see* page 3563). Territories assigned to the four powers by no means corresponded with the areas of Germany as they were overrun in the course of military operations. In particular, the line on which the Russian and American Armies met was far to the east of the zonal boundary envisaged at Yalta, and American troops were withdrawn from Saxony and Thuringia to make way for the Russians. The delimitations agreed are shown in the map facing page 4014. Changes took place subsequently, a considerable part of the Russian-occupied area being handed by the Russians to Poland (*see* page 3878 and map in page 3875). The port of Bremen, an American enclave in the British section through which U.S. occupation forces received supplies, was transferred to British control on December 10, though still worked by the Americans. The American zone in Germany joined the American zone in Austria, as did the French zones in the two countries.

Division into Four Zones

Berlin lay in the Russian zone; but it was decided to divide the Reich



S.S. MEN FLOODED BERLIN'S UNDERGROUND

The final stages of the battle for Berlin were marked by fierce fighting between the Russians and S.S. troops in the tunnels of the underground railway. On May 4, 1945, S.S. men flooded the Stettiner section of the line, drowning many people sheltering at the time. Above, after the city's fall, workmen at the Anhalter station in an improvised boat, used for recovering the bodies. *Photo, Associated Press*

The last few weeks of the war in Europe saw the overrunning by British and U.S. troops of the notorious concentration camps of Buchenwald, near Weimar, and Belsen, where thousands of prisoners were found dead and dying. 1. A few days after the overrunning of Buchenwald on April 12, 1945, British M.P.s, including Mrs. Mavis Tate, inspect the camp for themselves. The bodies are those of prisoners who had died within the previous 24 hours. 2. These Weimar civilians, forced to inspect the camp by U.S. 3rd Army troops, see the furnaces containing skeletons of the cremated dead.

BUCHENWALD AND BELSEN

On April 15, 1945, by arrangement with the Germans made two days earlier, British troops took over the vast typhus-ridden concentration camp at Belsen-Bergen, a few miles N.W. of Celle, where they found evidence of unspeakable crimes. Most of the buildings were burned by Allied military orders on May 21. 3. S.S. men captured at the camp are made to load lorries with bodies of prisoners being taken away for burial. 4. A sign-board which tells its own terrible story. 5. The camp a year later. Graves are marked with the names and nationalities of the dead. Some 13,000 died after being freed.

GERMANY UNDER ALLIED OCCUPATION

By mid-July, 1945, some element of German local civil administration was operating in most of Germany. Germans proved to be untainted with Nazism co-operating with the occupying powers. 1. German civilian given an armlet showing him to be a member of the Military Government police. 2. Berliners wait to be weighed and measured by a British Field Ambulance unit to determine whether they are suffering from malnutrition. 3. In Hanover, a check is made of fire-arms surrendered (by order) to the Military Government.

Photos, British Official ; Planet News

capital into four sectors, its administration as a whole being controlled by the Inter-allied "Komendatura" (a Russian term). Despite the destruction it had undergone through air raids and street fighting, Berlin soon harboured some three and a half millions again.

One of the most difficult problems with which the Allies had to deal was the enormous mass of homeless persons moving across the centre of the continent. There were two main groups : workers who had been brought—many of them by force—from all over Europe into Germany or German-occupied territory by the Nazis, and who numbered more than six millions. Many of them started on their way home as soon as the Nazi regime broke down, and first the Allied armies, later U.N.R.R.A. had to canalize this giant migration, transport, shelter and feed these people on their journey. A minority—still numbering tens of thousands—actually did not want to go home, most because they were afraid, for one reason or another, of what would happen to them if they went home, a few because they liked the irresponsibility of life in the U.N.R.R.A. camps, where they were fed and cared for, which sprang up all over Germany —some even on the very sites of Nazi concentration camps.

Moving Masses of Homeless

In these new camps for displaced persons, the inmates had nothing to fear from cruel warders, and they were much better fed than the German population, but they suffered from the lack of purpose in their lives, and a certain number (mainly Polish) organized themselves into small armed bands which in some parts of Germany terrorized the countryside until stern measures were taken by the Allied military police.

In these camps also lived what were left of the Jewish communities of central and eastern Europe which the Nazis had all but succeeded in annihilating in the gas chambers of their huge extermination camps at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) and Maidanek in Poland

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE, 1945

A conference to determine Germany's future opened on July 17, 1945, at the Cecilienhof Palace, Potsdam, residence of the former German Crown Prince, and concluded on August 1. In its initial stages it was attended by Mr. Winston Churchill, President Truman, and Generalissimo Stalin. On July 25 the conference was suspended to enable the British leaders to return to England to hear the results of the general election. Three days later Mr. C. R. Attlee, new British Premier (who had previously attended the conference at Mr. Churchill's invitation) and Mr. Ernest Bevin, the new Foreign Secretary, flew to Berlin for the final stages. The decisions of the conference (see Historic Document No. 312 in page 3931) were published on August 2. (1) President Truman greets Mr. Attlee; Mr. Bevin in foreground. (2) Stalin talks with Mr. Churchill. (3), the conference in session.

Photo, Keystone.

BRITISH FLAG RAISED IN BERLIN

On July 4, 1945, the British 7th Armoured Division, with units of the Grenadier Guards, Devon Regiment, Royal West Kent Regiment and a composite Canadian battalion, under Major-General Louis O. Lyne, entered Berlin to occupy the British sector there. Two days later the Union Jack was formally hoisted (from the highest flagstaff taken from the Berlin Olympic Stadium) at the base of the 1870 Victory Column overlooking the Tiergarten. Silent Germans watched the parade. Here, pipers of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada lead the march past.

BERLINERS WATCH 'DESERT RATS' ENTER THEIR CAPITAL

The British 7th Armoured Division (the famous 'Desert Rats'), with battalions of the Grenadier Guards, Devon Regiment, Royal West Kent Regiment and a composite Canadian battalion, on July 4, 1945, entered Berlin under the command of Major-General Louis O. Lyne, C.B., D.S.O., to take over occupation of the British sector there. This included the Tiergarten, Charlottenburg and Spandau districts. Here, Major-General Lyne takes the salute as the 'Desert Rats' enter a blitzed industrial quarter. Top, Berliners silently looked on. *Photos, Fox Photos; Keystone*

BRITAIN'S ARMED FORCES ON PARADE IN BERLIN

The taking over of the British sector in Berlin in July 1945 was marked by impressive military parades attended by Allied Services and other leaders. Above, Mr. Winston Churchill takes the salute at a parade in the Charlottenburger Chaussee on July 21. In front of the saluting-base—on which the British Premier is accompanied by Mr. Anthony Eden, Mr. C. R. Attlee, Field-Marshal Alexander, Field-Marshal Montgomery, General Omar Bradley and Marshal Zhukov—is a contingent of Grenadier Guards. Below, also in the Charlottenburger Chaussee, British armour passes the foot of the 1870 Victory Column during a parade of some 10,000 men of Britain's air, sea and land forces on July 12.

and other concentration camps in Germany. Most of them wanted to get to Palestine. Only a tiny percentage of the German Jews, who had once numbered a quarter of a million, returned to the places from which they had been driven by the Nazis. Measures were taken—most effectively in Bavaria—to restore to Jews the property of which they had been deprived.

Another group of migrants, also numbering many millions, were Germans. In the main they were moving from east to west. This movement started when the Red Army was approaching the frontiers of East Prussia and Silesia. Both those who had sought refuge in the east from Allied bombing in the west and local inhabitants joined

NAZI STAMPS FOR INDIA

So confident of world-conquest was Hitler that he had postage stamps designed and ready to be issued when the Nazis occupied India. These two are from a set of seven ; they depict an Indian woman at her spinning-wheel (left) and a nurse tending a wounded Indian soldier.

the movement which continued growing with the increasing number of people who, frightened by Nazi propaganda, believed the Russians would kill all Germans who fell into their hands. Thus, when the German armies surrendered, there were already masses of Germans in western and southern Germany whose homes had been in the eastern part of the country. But this first wave of refugees was soon followed by a second : the millions of Germans forcibly evacuated by the governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Both these immediate neighbours of Germany had suffered through their German

DOENITZ'S FLENSBURG 'GOVERNMENT' IS ARRESTED

By order of the Supreme Commander on May 23, 1945, Admiral Doenitz, second and last Fuehrer of the Reich, his so-called 'Government,' and the German High Command, were arrested at Flensburg and held as prisoners of war. Here are (left to right), Albert Speer, Hitler's Minister of Production ; Grand-Admiral Karl Doenitz ; and Colonel-General Jodl, Chief of German General Staff, after being detained. *Photo, Associated Press*

minorities. This was particularly true of Czechoslovakia, whose three millions of Sudeten Germans had proved an unending source of trouble and danger to her. The situation in Poland was different. Her pre-war German minority had numbered some 800,000 ; but the inclusion within the proposed frontiers of the new Poland of the " corridor " and of parts of East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia (*see* map in page 3875) gave Poland former German territory larger in extent than Scotland, and with a population of some nine millions. The Poles did not wait for a final settlement, but immediately started ejecting the German population from these areas. It was, indeed, the very method which the Germans themselves had used under the Nazi regime. The resulting misery raised grave doubts in the minds of many people, particularly in England and America.

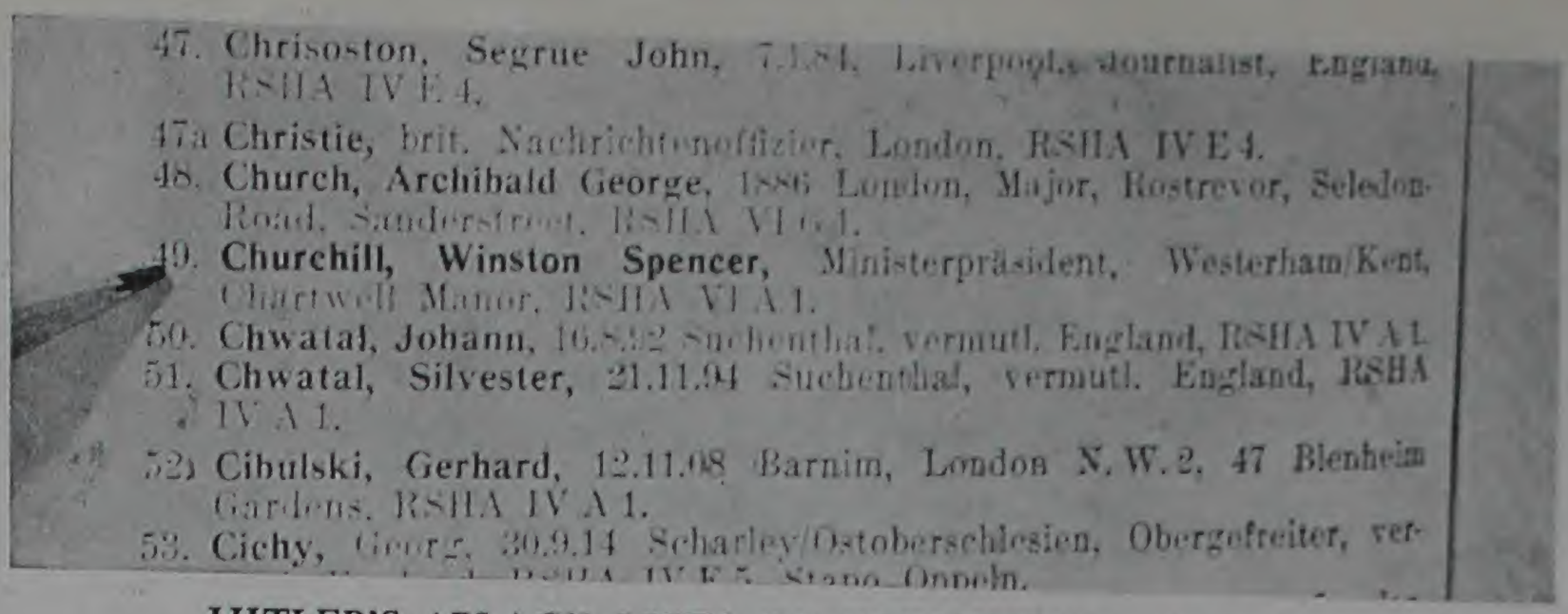
The Berlin Conference, 1945

At the Berlin conference of the Big Three, held at Potsdam in July 1945, it was decided that, pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier in the peace treaty with Germany, the territory east of the Oder-Neisse line should come under Polish administration at once and cease to be part of the Russian zone of occupation. The Poles (like the Czechoslovaks) were, however, asked to stop wholesale ejection and to use orderly and humane methods so as to make it possible for the Allied administration of the receiving territories of Germany to prepare for the distribution, housing and feeding of those millions of immigrants, most of whom had no means of support.

This was only one, though an important one, of the decisions taken at the Berlin Conference. (For the chief of these decisions, *see* Historic Document 312, page 3931.) Other decisions covered not only the wiping out of all Nazi institutions and the prevention of Nazism and militarism from rising again

THE END OF HEINRICH HIMMLER

Chief of the Gestapo and the S.S., Heinrich Himmler poisoned himself at British 2nd Army H.Q. at Luneburg on May 23, 1945, within 24 hours of being detained at Bemervoerde by Field Security Police. He here lies, wrapped in a blanket, where he fell after swallowing a capsule of cyanide of potassium. *Photo, British Newspaper Pool*



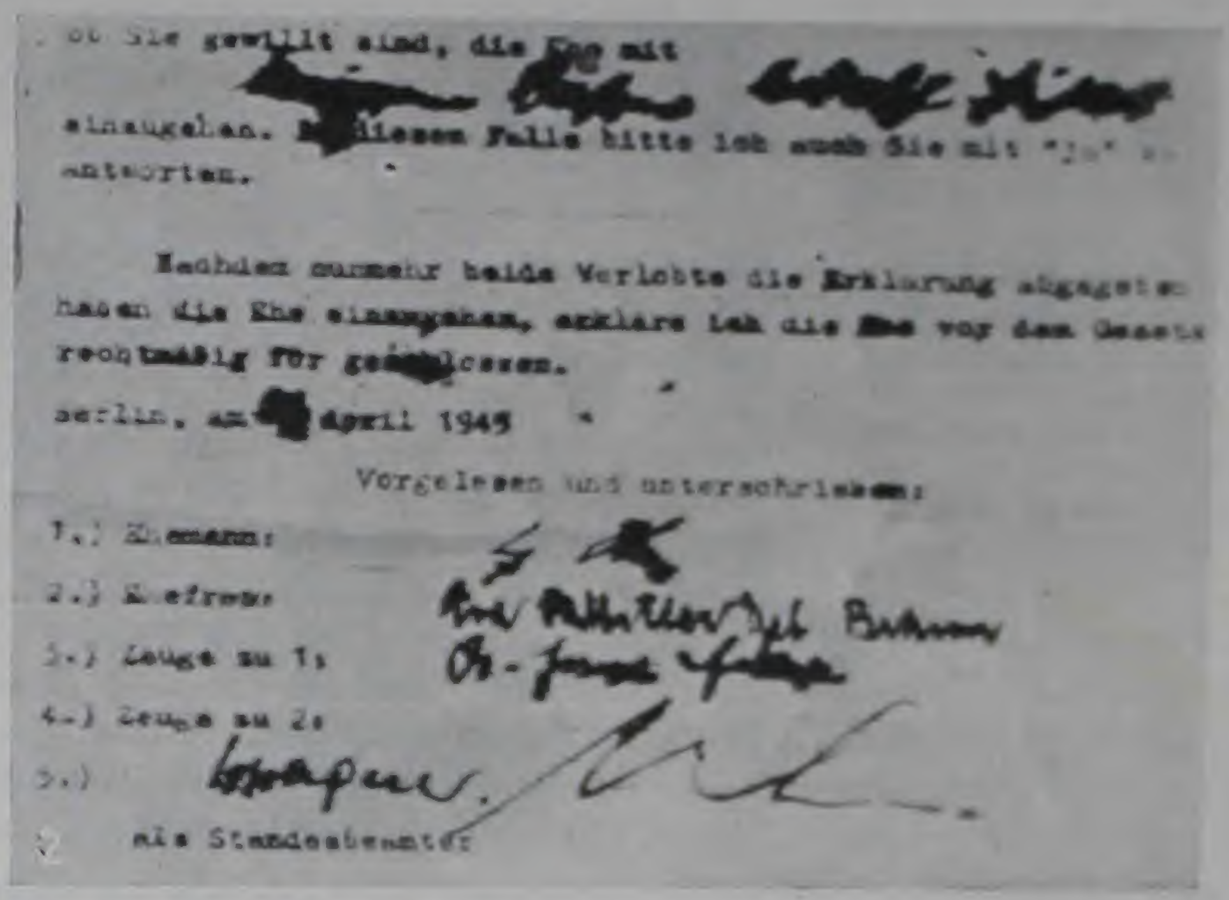
47. Chrisoston, Segrue John, 7.1.84, Liverpool, Journalist, England, RSHA IV E 4.
47a Christie, brit. Nachrichtenoffizier, London, RSHA IV E 4.
48. Church, Archibald George, 1886 London, Major, Rostrevor, Seledon-Road, Sanderstroot, RSHA VI G 1.
49. **Churchill, Winston Spencer,** Ministerpräsident, Westerham/Kent, Chartwell Manor, RSHA VI A 1.
50. Chwatal, Johann, 16.8.92 Suchenthal, vermutl. England, RSHA IV A 1.
51. Chwatal, Silvester, 21.11.94 Suchenthal, vermutl. England, RSHA IV A 1.
52. Cibulski, Gerhard, 12.11.08 Barnim, London N.W.2, 47 Blenheim Gardens, RSHA IV A 1.
53. Cichy, Georg, 30.9.14 Scharley/Ostoberschlesien, Obergefreiter, ver-

HITLER'S 'BLACK LIST' OF PROMINENT BRITONS

Discovered in the Berlin H.Q. of the Reich Security Police in September 1945 was a book containing a 'black list' of persons earmarked for arrest in the event of a successful German invasion of Britain. It contained the names of many prominent political leaders, journalists and others. This is a photograph of page 32 of the book, showing the name of Mr. Churchill.

in Germany, but also certain measures of constructive planning for the future of Germany. Organizations to be suppressed included not only the S.S., the S.A., the "Sicherneitsdienst" (special security police), the Gestapo with all its dependent organizations, but also the Wehrmacht with its General Staff, officers corps, military schools, military and crypto-military organizations. All weapons of war, and all installations for the production and maintenance of such weapons, had to be handed over and destroyed. All the political institutions set up by the Nazis were to be abolished, and all special laws intended to cement Nazi power or to discriminate on a racial basis were to be abrogated. Earlier plans aiming at reducing Germany to a purely agrarian state were dropped as they were quite unrealistic, all the more so after the cutting off of the huge, predominantly agricultural areas in the east; but the size and output of Germany's heavy industries (which, indeed, had been expanded by the Nazis beyond any reasonable peacetime need) were to be strictly limited, though she was to be given a certain freedom in developing industries that would enable her, by exporting consumer goods, to pay for the import of food and necessary raw materials.

Payment of reparations by Germany was also envisaged on a very different basis from that of 1919, when an attempt was made to calculate the complete damage done by Germany and to make her pay a corresponding sum in annual instalments. The 1945 scheme did not attempt any estimate of the money value of the damage done—indeed, in view of the degree of destruction all over Europe, no such estimate could have been made. Instead the Big Three, mainly upon the suggestion of Russia, envisaged German production equipment as the main source from which an effective reparation could be exacted without too much delay. Russia, who was the greatest sufferer among the three big Allies, was authorized to seize



einzugehen. In diesem Falle bitte ich auch Sie mit "Ja" zu antworten.

Nachdem nunmehr beide Verlobte die Erklärung abgegeben haben die Ehe einzugehen, erkläre ich die Ehe vor dem Gesetz rechtsgültig für geschlossen.

Berlin, am 29. April 1945

Vorgelesen und unterschrieben:

1.) Braun:

2.) Hitler:

3.) Zeuge zu 1:

4.) Zeuge zu 2:

5.)

als Standesbeamter:

HITLER AND EVA BRAUN

According to British Intelligence experts, Hitler and Eva Braun died in the Reichs-Chancellery in Berlin on April 30, 1945, 24 hours after their marriage. 1. Hitler and Eva—from Eva Braun's personal album. 2. The marriage contract with heavily blotted signatures (discovered in Bavaria). 3. Soviet soldiers indicate the site in Berlin where the bodies of Hitler and his wife are alleged to have been cremated.

Photos, Associated Press; Keystone

AMONG THE RUINS OF BERLIN

When the German garrison in Berlin surrendered to the Russians on May 2, 1945 (see page 3722), the Reich capital was in ruins. 1. The charred hollow shell that was once the Reichstag. Soviet forces captured it on April 30 after fierce street-fighting (see illus. in page 3729). 2. A British soldier at the entrance to the Reichstag adds his name to those of Russians who had fought their way from Moscow and Stalingrad. 3. Shattered German armoured vehicles in the Court of Honour in the Reichs-Chancellery.

Photos, L.N.A. ; G.P.U ; Keystone

WEHRMACHT PRISONERS REACH THE BRITISH ZONE

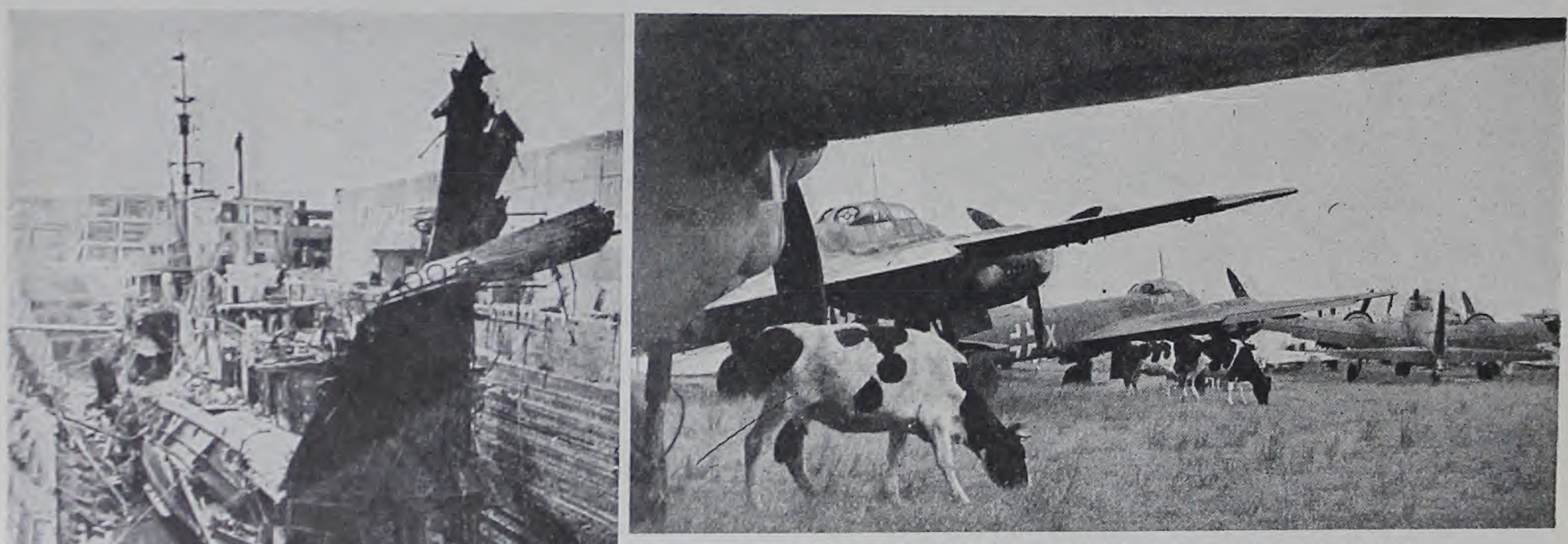
From all over Europe, remnants of the defeated Wehrmacht trudged home to Germany for demobilization. 1. In the British zone a German girl conscripted for this duty stamps the wrists of P.O.W. to show that their papers are in order. 2. Returning prisoner's bread ration for the journey home. 3. Wehrmacht P.O.W., after delousing, await examination at a clearing station in the British zone. *Photos, Keystone ; Daily Mirror*

production equipment in the Soviet zone of occupation. Of suitable equipment in the western zones ten per cent was to go to Russia on reparations account and a further fifteen per cent in exchange for food and other material from the Russian zone to the west. Out of Russia's share the claims of Poland, too, were to be met. The claims of all the other powers were to be met out of the production equipment in the western zones not regarded as essential for Germany's peace economy (minus the twenty-five per cent for Russia), and the gold reserves found there. In addition, Germany's foreign assets were to be divided among the Allies.

From Germany's point of view, the most important of the decisions taken at Potsdam was that against the dismemberment of the country (even though more than a year after the conference the administrative bodies to act, notwithstanding the zonal arrangements, for the whole country had not yet been set up).

Among the politically important decisions of the conference was the encouragement given to democratic political parties and to trade unions, neither of which had existed (except underground and in a small way) since the Nazis destroyed them in 1933. This decision followed the actual recognition of political parties in the Russian zone, where the Communist party was allowed to start as early as June 10, three other parties, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Liberal Democrats, following a few days later. Communists and Social Democrats were the legitimate successors of the pre-Hitler parties of the same names ; but the Christian Democrats were only in part successors of the former Centre party : that had been exclusively Roman Catholic, while the Christian Democratic Union claimed to represent all elements with a Christian conviction. It grew in strength, rallying all the non-socialist or anti-socialist groups, while the Liberals had little success. Within the workers' camp, the Social Democrats proved to be stronger than the Communists except in a few places in the Russian zone where they had the backing of the occupying power.

Whilst the Russians admitted parties in their zone with few limitations as to



BREAKING UP THE GERMAN WAR MACHINE

Some 90,000 R.A.F. pilots and crews, comprising 13 Air Disarmament Wings of the British Air Forces of Occupation (formerly 2nd Tactical Air Force) in late 1945 undertook dismantling of the Luftwaffe. Here, on the airfield at Flensburg, cattle graze among former Nazi bombers awaiting destruction. Left, German warship—typical of many—blasted by Allied bombing at Kiel, where Royal Navy demolition parties completed the work of destruction. *Photos, British Official ; Keystone*

the range of their activities, in both the British and the American zones the parties were at first allowed only to work as local organizations, though a first conference of Social Democratic representatives of the whole British zone—with guest representatives from Berlin and other zones as well as German Socialist refugees from Britain attending—was permitted to meet at Hanover in September. In the American zone, party organizations for whole states (Länder) were not permitted officially until November, and parties were not permitted in the French zone during 1945.

Restoration of German self-govern-

AN END TO NAZI BOOKS

Eradication of Nazism from education in occupied Germany was an important task of the Allied Military Government. In reopened schools all Nazi textbooks were replaced by others free from Nazi ideology. Here, pupils in Berlin queue to surrender Nazi books to the Principal.

Photo, Keystone

U.N.R.R.A. AT WORK

In a disused convent at Kloster Indersdorf, 25 miles north of Munich, Team 182 of U.N.R.R.A. in July 1945 set up a home for over 200 orphaned and starving children of various nationalities. Above, two officials—an American woman and an Englishman—help some of the children to try on their new outfits. *Photo, Central Press*

ment was, on the other hand, quickest in the U.S. zone. The first important step in this direction was taken on

Some Self-Government Restored

September 27, when that zone was formed into three states (Länder), each under purely German administration under overall U.S. supervision: Bavaria, corresponding to its 1933 borders minus Lindau (in French occupation); Wurttemberg-Baden, uniting the northern U.S. occupied parts of the two former states of those names; Hesse-Nassau (including the cities of Frankfort, Wiesbaden and Kassel) with Oberhessen, northern part of the former state of Hesse, and Rheinhessen (except that part occupied by the French). The Prime Ministers of the three Governments met regularly at Stuttgart to coordinate policy and legislation. Dr. Wilhelm Hoegner (Social Democrat) replaced Dr. Schaeffer as Prime Minister

ROUND-UP IN BERLIN'S 'BLACK MARKET'

Berlin's flourishing 'Black Market' provided a problem for the Allied occupying authorities. On October 14, 1945, British troops, supported by German police, arrested 2,000 people in the Tiergarten. Among those taken were 100 Soviet officers and men, later handed over to the Russians. Here, a British military policeman supervises the German police cordon behind which stand civilians and Soviet soldiers

Photo, Keystone

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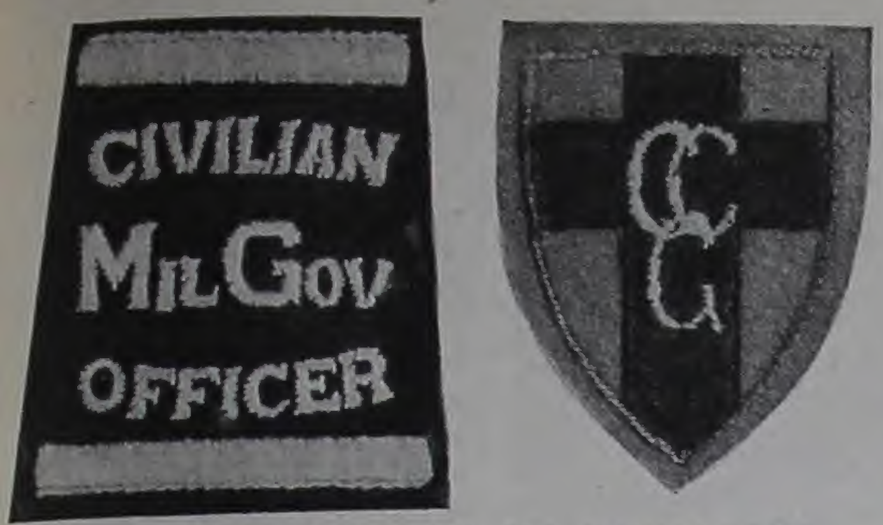
PROBLEM OF THE 'D. P.'s'

One of the most urgent tasks facing the Allied Military Government—and later U.N.R.R.A.—in occupied Germany was the care of the homeless, known officially as 'displaced persons.' 1. Displaced persons and ex-prisoners of war of many nationalities west of Berlin crowd a road lined with Soviet 'Stalin' tanks. 2. Lining up for hot food at Berlin's Stettiner station. 3. Home-bound French and Belgian ex-prisoners of war on a German airfield await air transport by Dakotas. 4. On their way from the Soviet to the British zone, these Germans change trains at Friedland.

Photos, British Official; Keystone; G.P.U.



BRITISH BADGES IN GERMANY
On June 4, 1945, Britain, the U.S., Russia and France formally took over governmental control of Germany. Left, shoulder badge of British civilian officer under the Military Government (gold lettering on bottle green). Right, sleeve badge of British members of the Allied Control Commission (yellow letters 'C.C.G'—Control Commission, Germany—on blue cross on red shield).

of Bavaria: Schaeffer had not handled de-nazification satisfactorily, refusing to take measures that would impair the efficiency of Bavarian administration. In this attitude he had to some extent been backed by General George Patton, Commander of the U.S. 3rd Army and Military Governor of Bavaria, who took the view that Germans who had paid only lip-service to Nazism could not be dispensed with immediately if administration was to remain efficient enough to prevent chaos and unnecessary suffering and death. Patton's transfer to the command of the U.S. 15th Army, a headquarters post, was announced on October 2. (He died at Heidelberg on December 21 as the result of a motor accident near Mannheim twelve days previously and was buried at Hamm, Luxemburg.)

This was the most sensational but by no means the only dispute on de-nazification that arose among Allied as well as German authorities. Practice in the four Allied Military Zones, too, differed widely, although there existed a common basic law for all (law No. 8 of the Allied Control Council). The Russians followed, in general, a policy of expediency in that, on the one hand, they were not reluctant to liquidate people whom they deemed dangerous, whilst on the other —particularly in the cultural field— they employed people who were, in the Russian area, useful, even if they were badly compromised by their activities under Hitler.

De-Nazification Problems

A policy based on strict principles was followed by the American authorities. A sweeping purge was carried out in their zone, not only among state employees and holders of public offices of every description, but also in trade and the professions, with a more lenient treatment, owing to the urgent needs of the moment, for the medical profession. Everybody seeking or retaining employment had to fill up elaborate questionnaires, with high penalties for false statements. People who had become Nazis before 1937 (in which year party pressure, particularly on holders of public offices, greatly increased) were regarded as highly objectionable. In special cases, appeals could be made against dismissals. Later, on the basis of a law proposed by a Communist member of the Bavarian Government and accepted by the Conference of the Prime Ministers and the U.S. Military Government, special courts, consisting entirely of Germans, were set up to deal with de-nazification. To find a sufficient number of people with a clean record proved to be most difficult in building up a new police, a new legal administration, and a new system of education. Yet, as General Joseph T. McNarney (who on November 29 succeeded General Eisenhower as Military Governor of the U.S. zone, and U.S. representative on the Allied Control Council) summed up his policy in a message to the German people, "It is a truism to say that no man is irreplaceable. Germany can and must perform her rehabilitation without the help of those people [the Nazis]."

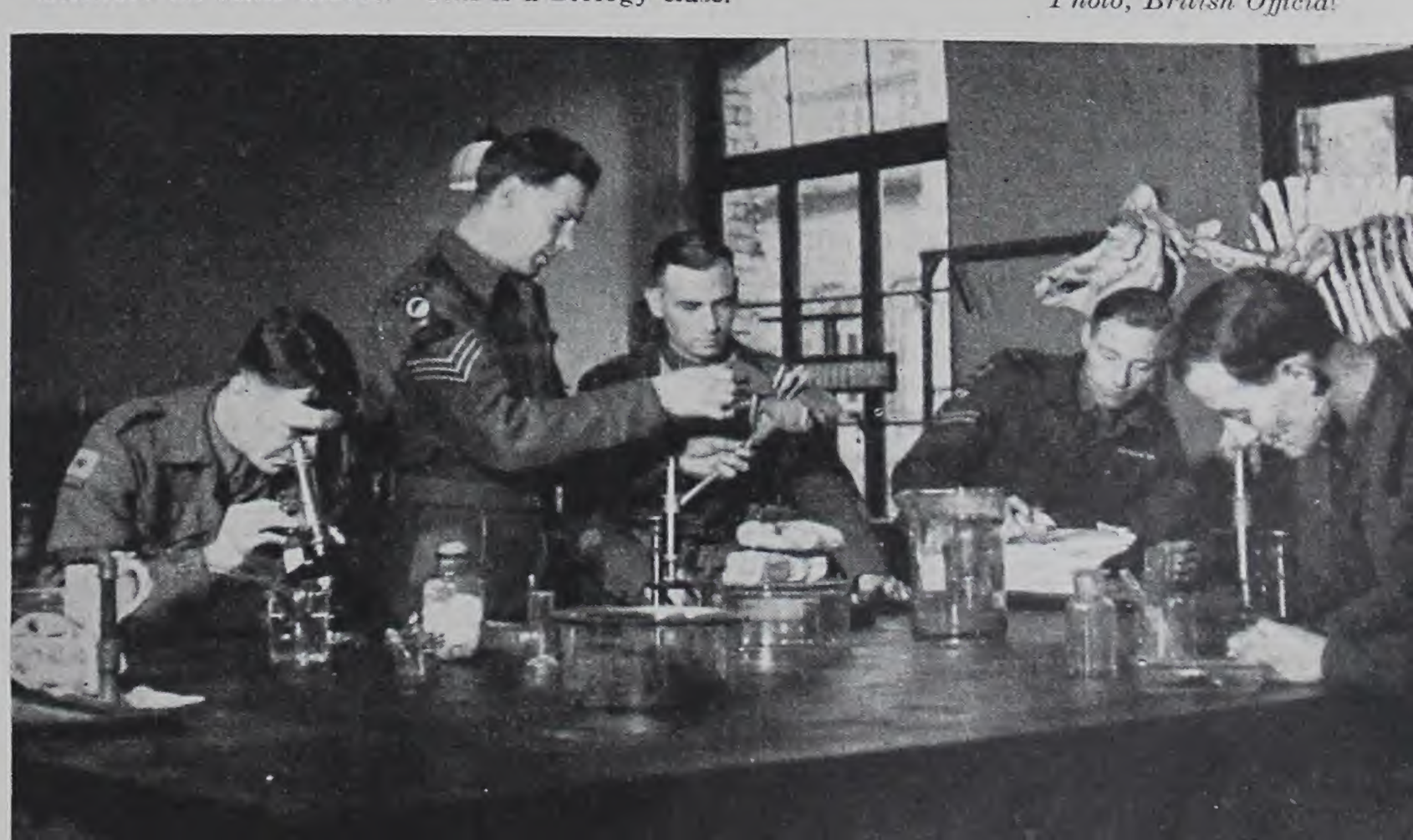
British policy was on generally similar though somewhat less severe lines. Towards the end of the year, some 50,000 Nazi activists (apart from war criminals) had been arrested in the British zone, compared with twice that number in the American zone. Decisive measures were taken by the British authorities in the field of education, based on Field-Marshal Montgomery's declaration that "No teacher should be left in office whose past could not stand the most searching scrutiny." Elementary schools were opened in the British zone on October 1 for a million children, part-time elementary instruction was available for another million.

Allied Policy Towards the Press

Policy regarding press and other publications was very different in the British zone from that in all other zones. Apart from a newspaper in Aachen which had originally been licensed by the Americans, and a paper in the British sector of Berlin, there were, for a long time, no German-run papers or magazines in the British zone. Papers appearing there, though written in German and employing some Germans on their staff, were entirely under British direction and responsibility. This policy was not modified until after the end of 1945. In the American as well as in the French zone the Germans were given an early opportunity to build up a new democratic press of their own, and in both these zones a considerable number of papers, as well as some magazines, were licensed during the second half of the year, their publishers as well as editors being exclusively German. In the French zone the press remained subject to censorship; the Americans relied upon careful selection of those admitted to publishing activities, and the threat of the withdrawal of the licence. Twenty-five newspapers (twice weekly except for the Berlin paper) were licensed by the Americans during 1945, some attaining a fair standard of production and content.

One of the main items reported by the German papers—in very different ways and with very different emphasis—was the trial of the major German war criminals at Nuremberg (*see* Chapter 386), possibly the greatest trial in history.

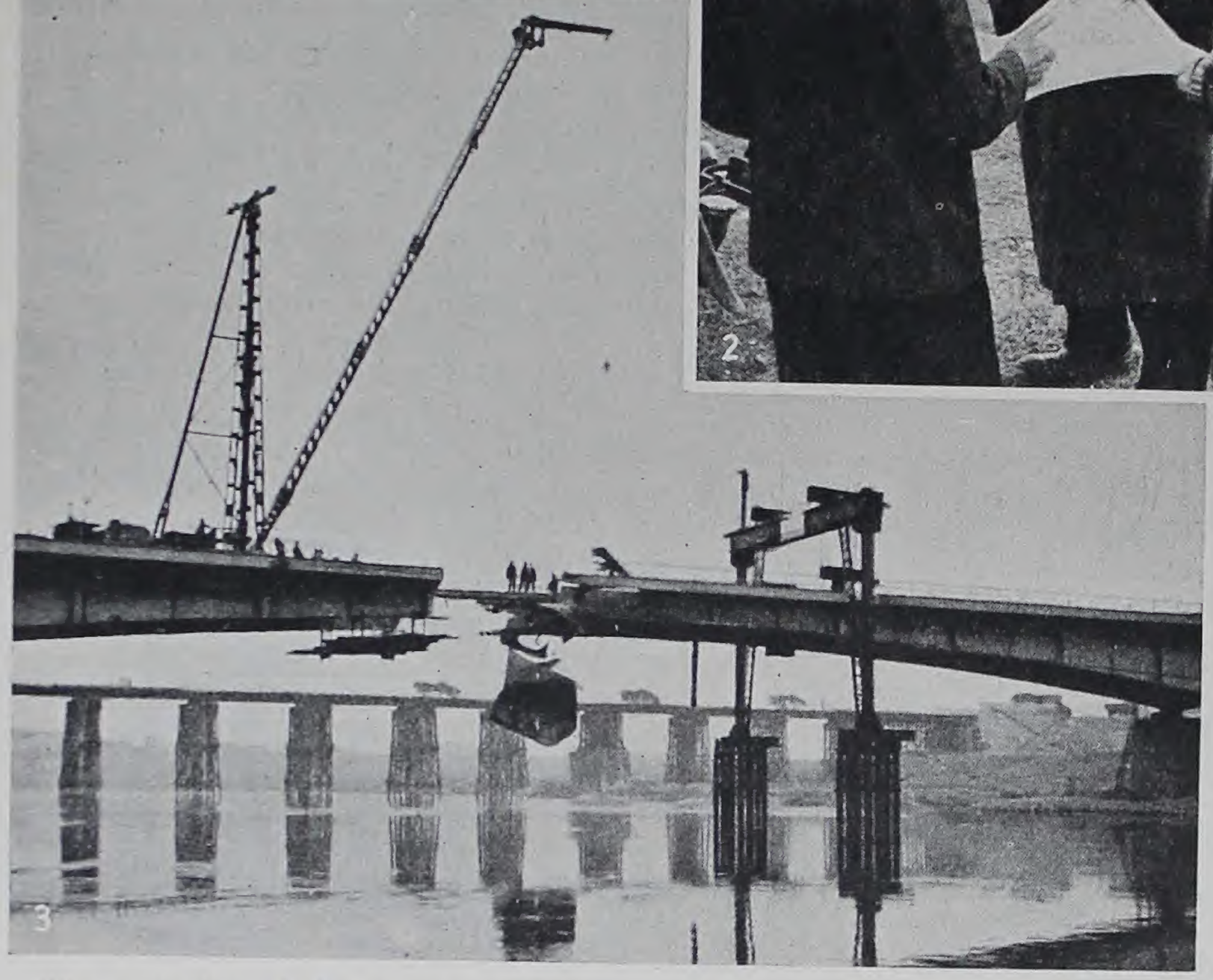
BRITISH TROOPS ATTEND GERMAN UNIVERSITY
Special facilities were provided for troops of the B.A.O.R. (British Army of the Rhine) who wished to improve their education. Among these, towards the end of 1945, was a month's course at the famous university of Göttingen. Subjects ranged from Art-appreciation, Physics and Biology to French, German and typing. Officers and men, besides members of the A.T.S., attended the same classes. This is a Biology class. *Photo, British Official*



GERMANS BEGIN TO HELP THEMSELVES

1. Berlin woman worker shears the rim from a Wehrmacht steel helmet—first stage in its transformation into a saucepan. By August 1945—with Allied encouragement—the Germans were making 10,000 saucepans a month in this way. 2. On orders from Allied Military Government, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Cologne's lord mayor, supervises ploughing up of the city's 'green belt' to provide more crops. 3. Also on Allied orders, German engineers repair a bridge on the Hanover motor-road.

Photos, British Official



The majority of the German people showed a rather weak interest in these proceedings, as in many other matters of political significance. Still numbed and apathetic, and at the same time suspicious of anything they thought was "propaganda," their whole interest was focused on their individual needs and chance of survival. The problems of shelter, heating and, above all, food occupied their minds. The destruction of the big cities, aggravated by the arrival of millions of refugees from the east, made housing one of the most urgent and, at the same time, most difficult problems. Many of the emergency dwellings (*e.g.* cellars in bomb shattered houses) were not in any civilized sense habitable in winter, especially with virtually no coal available. Germany is a well forested country, and wood minimized the heating problem. To this and to the mildness of the winter of 1945-46, was due, in part at least, the success of the Allied Medical authorities in preventing major epidemics.

Food the Main German Preoccupation

The food situation remained tense: during the second half of 1945 the average daily ration in most parts of the British and American zones was increased from 1,000–1,300 calories a day in September to about 1,500 calories towards the end of the year. This standard, however, was not maintained later in the British zone—it had been achieved only by substantial imports (paid for by Britain) of grain and other foods which could not be kept up owing to world shortage. Shortage of food was the key to the shortage of coal, low production by the miners in the Ruhr being due not only to their lack of strength from insufficient food, but also to absenteeism arising from their going in search of additional food for their families.

Painfully limited supplies led to a flourishing black market in Germany, as elsewhere in Europe. Cigarettes became a sort of currency, with prices ranging from one to six shillings for a single cigarette. (Highest prices were generally paid in Berlin.)

As the year advanced it became ever more obvious that some of the important provisions of the Berlin Conference were not likely, at least soon, to be implemented. There was hardly any attempt at co-ordination of policy between the occupation authorities of the four zones. The French (who were not present at the Berlin Conference) objected to the setting up of any central German authority and asked for complete separation of the Ruhr from Germany, a demand with which neither Britain nor the U.S.A. agreed: they wanted rather international control of the area within Germany. Even greater differences on how to deal with Germany became apparent between the Western powers and Russia. This lack of unity did not escape the Germans, and wild rumours of imminent war sometimes swept the country. A good many Germans—among them all the Nazis—would have welcomed such a war, but, sobered by experience, were terrified at the thought that Germany might become a battlefield again. Allied differences, indeed, introduced an element of uncertainty which made very much harder the moral, political and economic rehabilitation of Germany.

Effects of Allied Differences

MAIN DECISIONS OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE, 1945

Here, in extracts from the text of the report signed in Berlin on August 2, 1945, by Generalissimo J. V. Stalin, President Harry S. Truman, and the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, are the principal decisions taken at the conference to decide on Germany's future which met at Potsdam on July 17 (see pages 3890 and 3923)

Council of Foreign Ministers.

(1) There shall be established a Council composed of the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, France, and the United States. (2) (ii) The first meeting shall be held in London not later than September 1, 1945.

(3) (i) As its immediate important task, the Council shall be authorized to draw up, with a view to their submission to the United Nations, treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, and to propose settlements of territorial questions outstanding on the termination of the war in Europe. The Council shall be utilized for the preparation of a peace settlement for Germany, to be accepted by the Government of Germany when a government adequate for the purpose is established. (ii) For the discharge of each of these tasks the Council will be composed of the members representing those States which were signatory to the terms of surrender imposed upon the enemy State concerned. For the purpose of the peace settlement for Italy, France shall be regarded as a signatory to the terms of surrender for Italy. Other members will be invited to participate when matters directly concerning them are under discussion.

Allied Policy Towards Germany.

It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people.

1. Supreme authority in Germany is exercised, on instructions from their respective Governments, by the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the French Republic, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany as a whole, as members of the Control Council.

2. So far as is practicable, there shall be uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout Germany.

3. The purposes of the occupation of Germany by which the Control Council shall be guided are: (i) The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production. (ii) To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibilty for what they have brought on themselves, since their own ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistance have destroyed German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable. (iii) To destroy the National Socialist Party and its affiliated and supervised organizations; to ensure that they are not revived in any form. (iv) To prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis.

9. The administration of affairs in Germany shall be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility. To this end (i) local self-government shall be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles, and in particular through elective councils, as rapidly as is consistent with military security and the purposes of military occupation; (ii) all democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany; (iii) representative and elective principles shall be introduced into regional, provincial and state (*Land*) administration as rapidly as may be justified by the application of these principles in local self-government; (iv) for the time being no central German government shall be established. However, certain essential central German administrative departments, headed by State Secretaries, shall be established, particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade, and industry.

10. Subject to the necessity of maintaining military security, freedom of speech, Press, and religion shall be permitted. Subject likewise to the maintenance of military security, the formation of free trade unions shall be permitted.

14. During the period of the occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit.

15. Allied controls shall be imposed upon the German economy, but only to the extent necessary (*a*) to carry out programmes of industrial disarmament and demilitarization, of reparations, and of approved exports and imports; (*b*) to assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to meet the needs of the occupying forces and displaced persons in Germany, and essential to maintain in Germany average living standards not exceeding the average of the standards of living of all European countries, excluding the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; (*c*) to ensure in the manner determined by the Control Council the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones, so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the needs for imports; (*e*) to control all German public or private scientific bodies, research and experimental institutions, laboratories, etc., connected with economic activities.

19. Payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance . . . .

German Reparations.

1. Reparation claims of the U.S.S.R. shall be met by removal from the zone of Germany occupied by the U.S.S.R. and from appropriate German external assets. 2. The U.S.S.R. undertakes to settle the reparation claims of Poland from its own share of reparations. 3. The reparation claims of the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries entitled to reparations shall be met from the western zones and from appropriate German external assets.

[In addition to reparations from the Soviet zone of occupation, the U.S.S.R. was also to receive 15 per cent of capital equipment of certain categories from the western zones in exchange for an equivalent value of agreed commodities, and 10 per cent of such capital equipment without payment.]

Königsberg.

The conference has agreed in principle to the proposal of the Soviet Government concerning the ultimate transfer to the Soviet Union of the city of Königsberg.

War Criminals.

The three Governments reaffirm their intention to bring major war criminals to swift and sure justice.

Poland's Western Frontier.

The three heads of Government reaffirm their opinion that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement and agree that, pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier, the [area indicated in the map in page 3875] shall be under the administration of the Polish State and for such purposes should not be considered as part of the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany.

Membership of United Nations.

The three Governments will support applications for membership of the United Nations from those States which have remained neutral during the war and which fulfil the qualifications set out [in Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations]. The three Governments feel bound, however, to make it clear that they would not favour any application for membership by the present Spanish Government.

Transfer of German Populations.

The three Governments recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner.

Chapter 381

UNITED NATIONS MEET AT SAN FRANCISCO

On April 25, 1945, just before the final overthrow of Germany, representatives of forty-six Allied nations (joined later by four others) met in San Francisco to draw up the Charter which, it was hoped and believed, would bind its signatories to abandon war for ever, and to combine in suppressing aggression. Warmly supported by the United States, the United Nations organization began life under much better auspices than did the League of Nations

As Allied armies stood poised on the eastern, western and southern borders of Nazism's central fortress, in February 1945, President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin with their military advisers held at Yalta in the Crimea (*see* page 3563) the last of their conferences to concert the final Allied onslaught which would bring victory to Europe. At the same time they prepared the foundations for a secure and lasting peace to follow that victory.

The customary communiqué issued at the close of the Crimea Conference included the phrase: " We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving people... We have agreed that a Conference of the United Nations should be called to meet in San Francisco in the United States of America on April 25, 1945, to prepare a Charter of such an organization along the lines proposed at Dumbarton Oaks " (*see* page 3256).

Decision to Call U.N. Conference

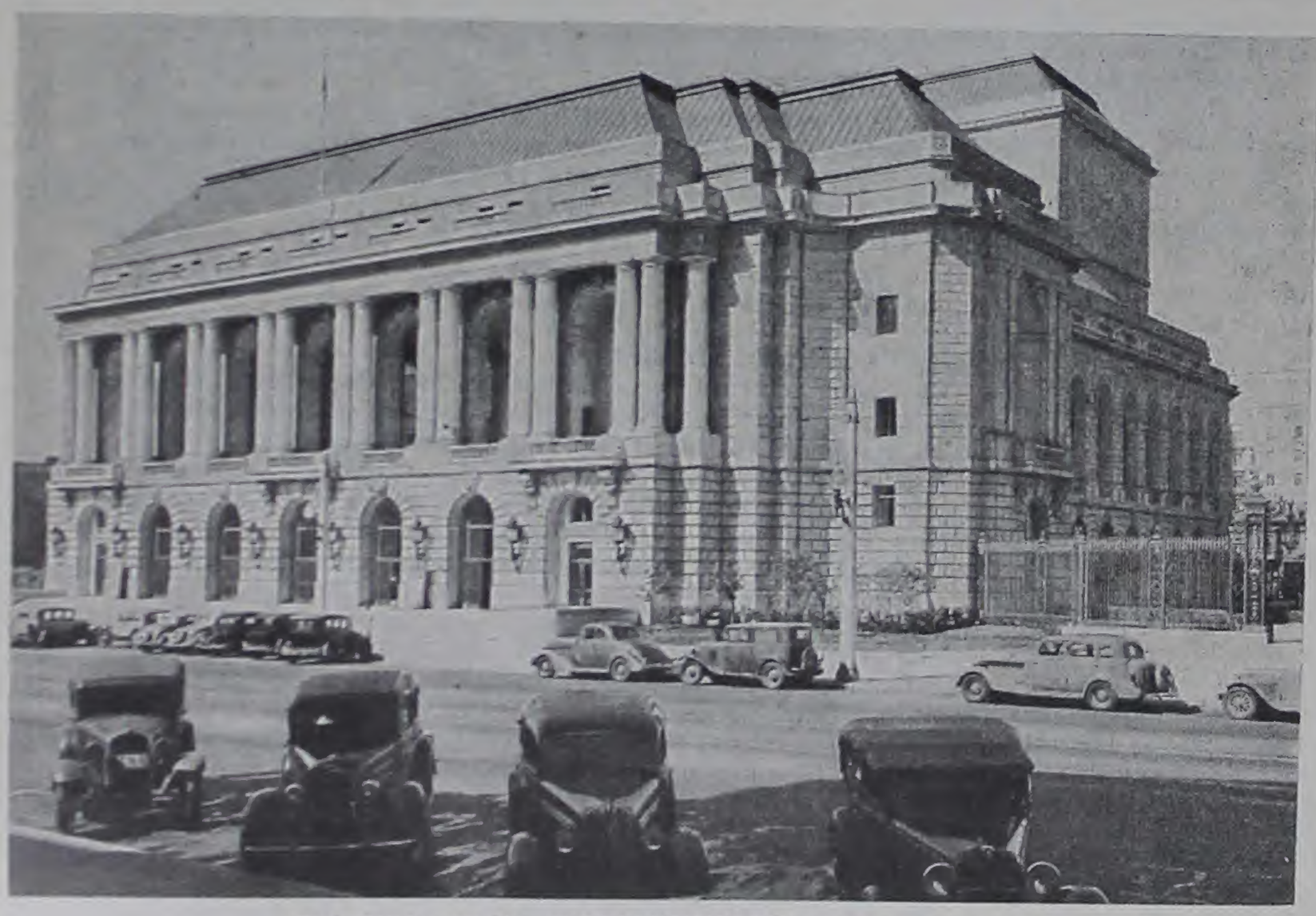
The heterogeneous war-swollen population of San Francisco was compounded of as many racial elements as were represented at the Conference, and the arrival in their midst of Ministers and senior representatives of the old countries from which they or their fathers had come, stirred in San Franciscans many old bonds, half-forgotten in the melting-pot of Americanism which in two or three generations had bred in their city a microcosm of the international harmony to be sought by the Conference for all the world. Thus, though flags were at half-mast for the President whose vision of a world at peace had helped to bring the Conference into being, San Francisco stretched its traditional hospitality to the utmost for the thousands of delegates, experts and staffs of forty-six nations who towards the end of April made their way by special trains and planes across America or the Pacific.

Taxi-drivers, shop assistants, telephone operators speaking every language of the United Nations were unearthed among the city's divers people and boldly advertised; hotels which had been forced to ration accommodation ever since San Francisco became the main base of America's vast Pacific war effort agreeably but firmly cleared whole floors and wings; local Press and radio boomed that San Francisco had at last come into its long-deserved own as the centre of the world's aspirations towards the future. On the highest of the city's many hills a vast concrete cross was for the Conference opening night floodlit in defiance of possible Japanese attack.

In this slightly lurid, hospitable and excitable atmosphere, superimposed on the steady humming war activity of the great naval base and port, delegates from Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran (Persia), Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Salvador, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Soviet Union, Syria, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia met on April 25th to talk peace in the splendid halls built by San Franciscans as memorial to their dead in America's former war against Germany. (They were joined during the Conference by four other delegations, from White Russia, the Ukraine, newly liberated Denmark, and Argentina.)

Nations Represented

At their first session they heard speeches from the delegation heads of the four convening nations—the Great Powers which were playing the major part in bearing the burden of the war. These speakers, the Foreign Ministers of Britain, China, Russia and the United States, joined in stressing the magnitude and urgency of the task



WHERE THE CONFERENCE WAS HELD

Setting for the first United Nations Conference (April–June, 1945) was the Opera House, San Francisco. An imposing stone building, it was opened in 1932 and is the only municipally owned opera house in the U.S. With the Veterans' Building in the adjoining square and a Memorial Court between, it constitutes the city's memorial to its dead in the First Great War. The auditorium, where the conference was held, seats 1,106.

EMPIRE LEADERS AT SAN FRANCISCO

At the United Nations Conference which opened at San Francisco on April 25, 1945, a prominent part was played by the British Dominions. Here, Field-Marshal Jan Smuts, 75-year-old Premier of the Union of South Africa, presides over Commission Two which dealt with the powers of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He also drafted the preamble to the Charter. At the rostrum is Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, Australia's Foreign Minister.

confronting the Conference. Working on the basis of the blueprint drawn up the previous year at Dumbarton Oaks by representatives of only the four great Powers, these delegates from Allied nations of widely varying size, interests and forms of Government, had to agree on a Charter within whose framework of general principle and administrative machinery the sovereign States of the world could in future resolve their differences and disputes and check aggression without again involving the peoples of the earth in war. Theirs might be, as the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, put it, "the world's last chance" of avoiding "another world conflict which this time might bring utter destruction of civilization in its train." The Great Powers' Foreign Ministers were followed at a series of plenary sessions by the heads of the smaller countries' delegations, each of whom devoted his opening speech to expressing his nation's attitude to the general problems before the Conference and in particular to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, in whose drafting they had had no share and which many of them sought to modify in the preparation of the final Charter.

"The World's Last Chance"

Although the major storms were ahead, it was at this stage too that there began to appear those differences and wrangles which are inseparable from the work of any so variously-gathered Assembly charged with so great a task. In the behind-the-scenes organizational preparation for the real work of the Conference—allocation of specific tasks to commissions and committees, selection of chairmen and other officials, and confirmation of credentials—several disputes had arisen and been settled by the end of the Conference's first week of work.

First of these concerned the chairmanship of the plenary sessions of the Conference, Russia's Mr. Molotov challenging the original plan that this should be permanently in the hands of the American Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, as senior representative of the host nation. Mr. Molotov proposed, instead, that the chairmanship should rotate among the heads of delegation of the four sponsoring nations, and his suggestion was adopted against opposition by the "Steering Committee" composed of all delegation heads and charged with the general direction of Conference work and the presentation to the full Conference of committee and commission proposals.

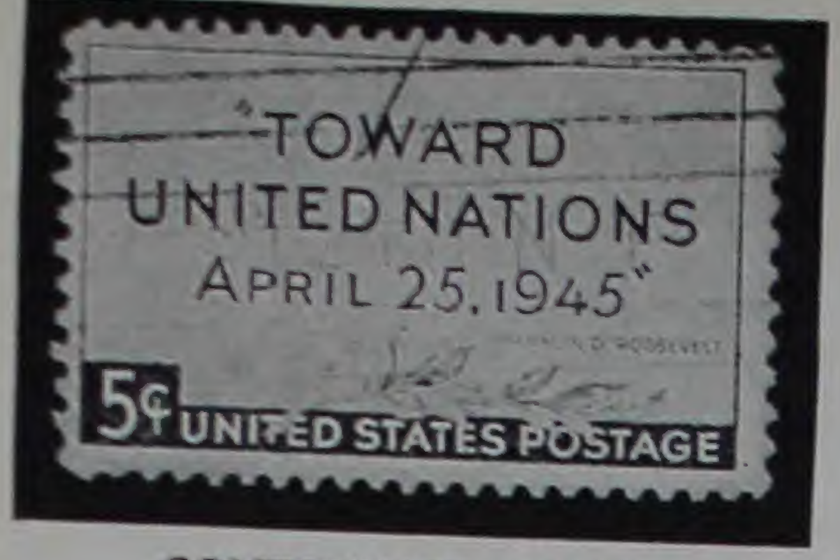
Chairmanship of Plenary Sessions

Thorniest of the early problems was the question of admission to the Conference of Argentina, whose government had only very belatedly fulfilled the Crimea qualifications for membership of the United Nations. Perhaps nettled by the Conference's refusal to admit the Provisional Government of Poland pending its modification as proposed at Yalta, Russia strongly opposed the admission of Argentina, and after being outvoted in the Steering Committee, Mr. Molotov brought the issue before a plenary session by proposing that a decision be delayed. Again he was outvoted, though the predominantly anti-Soviet tone of local American opinion swung generally in

INVITING POWERS OF THE CONFERENCE

Sponsoring the San Francisco Conference were Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China. On May 4, 1945, they invited France (who had declined to be one of the inviting powers) to attend on a basis of equality. Above, representing the "Big Four" are (left to right), Lord Halifax, British Ambassador in Washington; Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, U.S. Secretary of State; Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.; and Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, China's Ambassador to Great Britain.

Photos, Sport & General



CONFERENCE STAMP

This was the special postage stamp issued in the U.S. to mark the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, April-June 1945.

the Russian favour on this occasion—chiefly as a result of the effective use he made in debate of the acid opinions expressed of Argentina's government by the late President Roosevelt and his almost universally revered Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, appointed chief adviser to the United States delegation but unable through illness to attend.

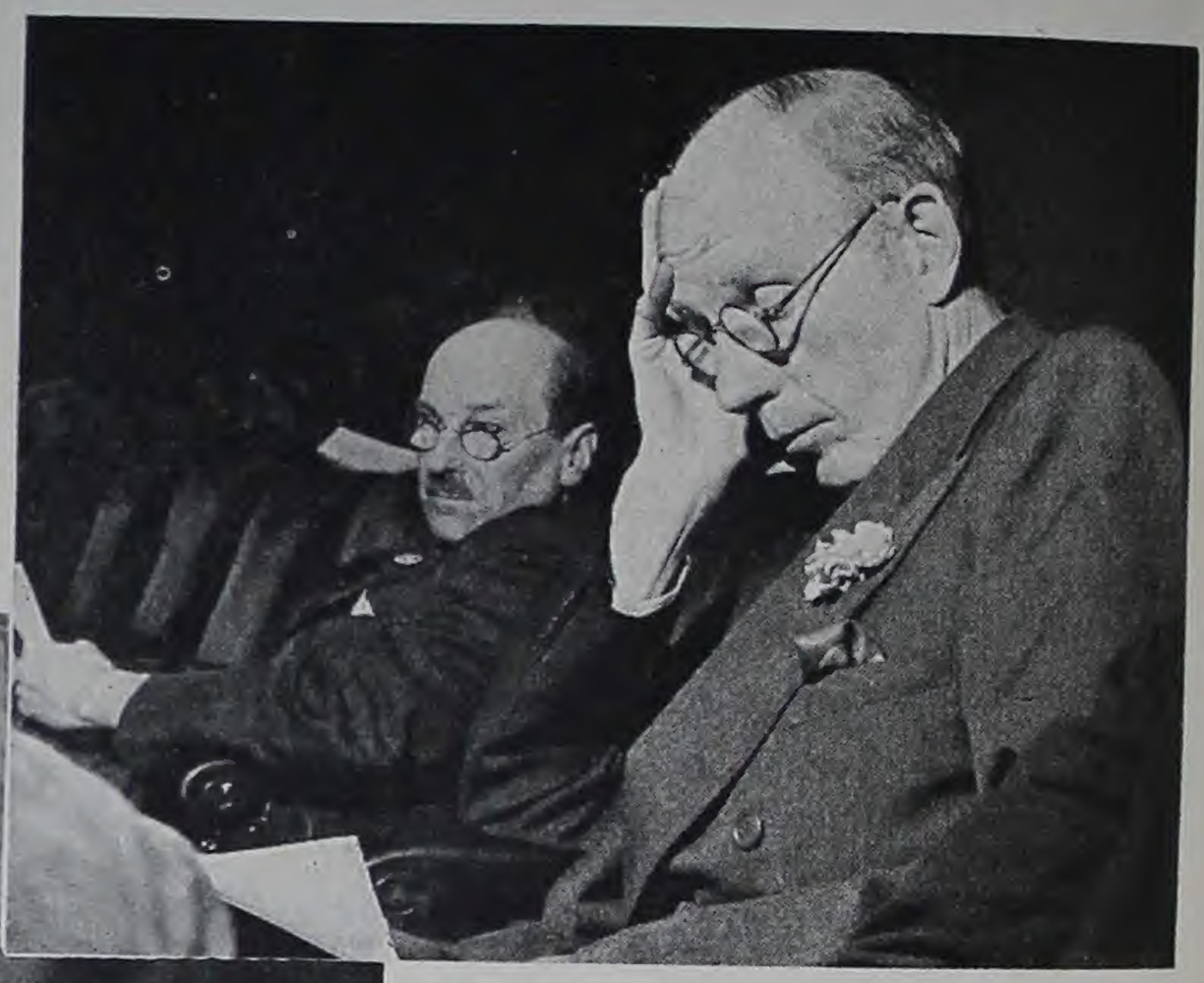
Such clashes, combined with the increasingly unspectacular nature of the real work of the Conference following the panoply of the formal opening, awoke a slightly disappointed San Francisco to the fact that this was not, as the city had vaguely expected, a sort of super American-style convention dominated by brass bands and splendid oratory. Instead it was a serious and difficult attempt to solve by discussion a number of the most delicate problems of vital importance to the world's peace. As the Conference entered its second stage—the actual drafting of an agreed Charter by Commissions and their dependent committees meeting in private—it receded almost into the background of the city's normal wartime life.

Crowds no longer enbarrassed the security officials by thronging the approaches to the Conference buildings and the lobbies and bars of the delegates' hotels in hopes of a glimpse of, or even a word with, a Foreign Minister or an Arabian prince. San Franciscans saw themselves no longer as ringside spectators at an international circus, but as unobtrusive hosts to a company of very vital workers.

With this change of attitude there came, also, as the Committees continued to meet through May, a certain impatience and even pessimism about the slowness with which the Charter took shape. As each clause of the Charter worked its way up the necessary chain of approval, from the original drafting committee to the Steering Committee for final presentation to the full Conference, checks inevitably occurred—often from unexpected quarters and at unexpected stages.

Meantime the Nazis had gone down to their final defeat, victory pointing the urgency of the Conference's work and at the same time forcing several of the leading delegates to return to their countries to deal with the pressing problems which followed victory. Among those departing were Mr. Eden and Mr. Molotov, whose absence (especially in the latter case) tended to slow up the unravelling of difficulties. Particularly on the question of the Great Powers' right of veto of action by the organization's Security Council on disputes laid before it, the Soviet delegation proved unable, without reference to Moscow, to agree with other delegations on the interpretation of the decision taken at Yalta. Since the nature of the whole structure of the world organization and its Charter depended on whether any one Great Power was or was not to have the right to block action by the organization, this delay held up the otherwise almost completed work of the Conference.

Nevertheless, after days of anxious waiting, agreement was reached between the sponsoring Powers, and a proposal laid before the Conference which, in the words of the American Secretary of State, "preserves the principle of unanimity of the five permanent members of the Council [the United Kingdom, China, France, the Soviet Union and the United States] while at the same time assuring freedom of hearing and discussion in the Council before action is taken."



BRITAIN AND RUSSIA AT SAN FRANCISCO

As decided at the Crimea Conference (see page 3564), representatives of the United Nations met at San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to set up 'a general international organization to maintain peace and security.' The conference held its final session on June 26 when the Charter was signed (subject to ratification) on behalf of 50 nations. Here, Mr. Molotov addresses the delegates, while (above) Mr. Attlee and Lord Halifax listen to the speeches. *Photos, Fox Photos; Associated Press*

Great Power Veto Accepted

The mere fact, however, that the Great Powers continued to insist on the impossibility of action—peaceful or warlike—by the organization against the opposition of any one of them led to another week of discussion and voting among the delegates. Small nations' representatives, led by Australia's Foreign Minister, Dr. Evatt, expressed opposition to the possible powers of dictatorship over the organization conferred by the arrangement. But in general the smaller countries realized the absolute necessity of Great Power unanimity if world peace was to be preserved, and the proposal was accepted by the Conference—though two delegates (Colombia and Cuba) opposed it and fifteen more (including the Netherlands and New Zealand) abstained from voting as an expression of their opposition in principle.

The spotlight came back to San Francisco as President Truman

flew from Washington to be present at the signing of the United Nations Charter which—in the words of " The Times "—was the fruit of " nine weeks of argument and negotiation and some anxious delays."

The basis of this Charter remained the work done by representatives of Britain, China, Russia and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 (*see* page 3256 and illus. in page 3255). But this full meeting of all the United Nations had done two great things. In the first place it had added to and amended the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and had clarified them in the light of the Crimea agreement on such vital issues as voting procedure in the United Nations Security Council. And in the second it had given the opportunity to every Allied nation, big or small, to contribute its share to the establishment of an organization with the most important purpose in the world—the prevention of war. As President Truman said in his final speech to the delegates on June 26, " This Charter was not the work of any single nation or group of nations, large or small. It was the result of a spirit of give and take, of tolerance for the views and interests of others. It was proof that nations, like men, can state their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground on which to stand. That is the essence of democracy ; that is the essence of keeping the peace in the future."

Fifty nations, comprising more than four-fifths of all the people on earth, had agreed to work together rather than in a spirit of sovereign irresponsibility over a wide range of subjects affecting them all. To quote the Charter's preamble, for the final form of which Field-Marshal Smuts was responsible, " We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights . . . to establish conditions under which justice can be maintained . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom . . . to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours . . . to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . . have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims. . ."

Fifty Delegates Sign Charter

First, the Charter established an international organization " based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members," who were (at least provisionally) those nations taking part in the Conference. Those members pledged themselves to settle international disputes by peaceful means and not to threaten or use force against any other State, as well as to give the organization every assistance in any action it might take against States (whether members or not) judged to be acting in a way contrary to the principles of the Charter.

The world organization was to have—apart from its secretariat—five principal organs with functions clearly defined in the Charter. A General Assembly of all member States would discuss any subject within the scope of the Charter, including general questions of international co-operation and specific questions brought before it by any member or by the Security Council. This Council, " the kernel of the new organization," consisted of five permanent members (Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States) and six other nations chosen by the General Assembly for periods of two years each. The Assembly, except in special circumstances, was to meet annually, the Council was to " be so organized as to be able to function continuously." It was designed, in fact, as the executive committee of the organization with delegated power to take any action against threatened or actual aggression, including armed action in which use might be made of forces drawn from member States. In such cases, any State providing forces would be invited to participate in the Security Council's deliberations.

Action, however, by the provisions of the Charter, would be taken only when seven members of the Security Council, including all the permanent members, voted in its favour. Only if one of these members were party to a dispute would this rule be waived and the member concerned abstain from voting. Otherwise Britain, China, France, Russia or the United States would be in a position individually to check the working of the machinery against herself.

Permanent Members Must Agree

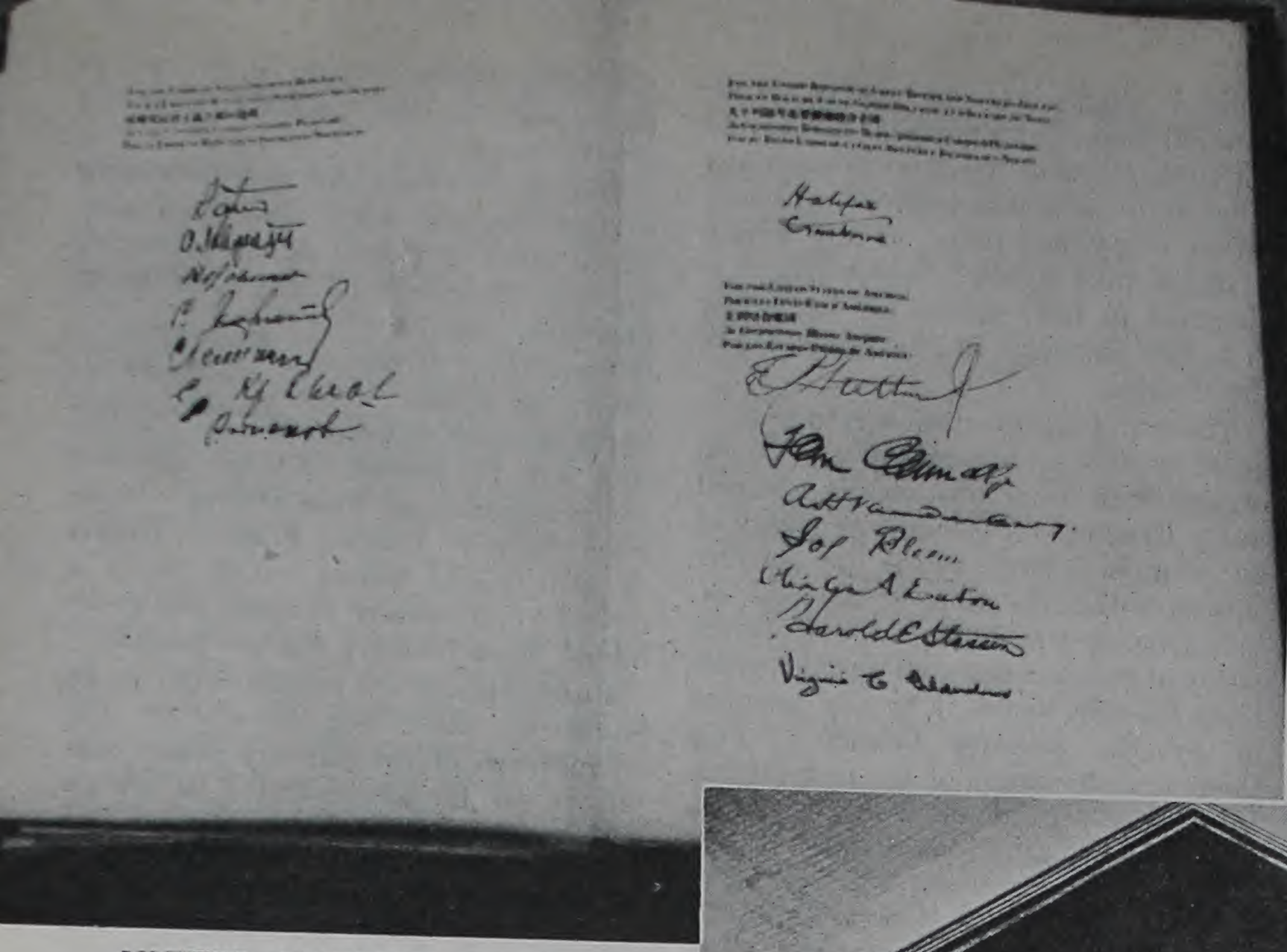
Further power was concentrated in the hands of the " Big Five " by the composition of the Military Staff Committee, to be established " to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament." The regular members of this committee were the British, Chinese, French, Russian and United States Chiefs of Staff or their representatives. Military leaders of other countries were to be called in only " when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires."

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER IS APPROVED

Climax of the San Francisco Conference was reached on its last day, June 25, 1945, when the plenary session unanimously approved the Charter of the United Nations. Below, chairmen of the fifty delegations rise to their feet to indicate approval of the document. At left, to right of the Norway sign, stands Mr. Gromyko (U.S.S.R.) ; at extreme right, beside the Netherlands sign, is Mr E R Stettinius, U.S. Secretary of State. *Photo, Sport & General*

FIFTY NATIONS SIGNED THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AT SAN FRANCISCO

After nine weeks of discussion, the Charter of the United Nations Organization was, on June 26, 1945, signed by the fifty delegations to the San Francisco Conference. The Conference had ended the previous day with the approval of the charter and with speeches from the leading delegates and from President Truman who watched the signing. On June 7 Dr. Manuilsky, the Ukrainian delegate, chairman of the committee charged with naming the Organization, announced that the name had been chosen in homage to President Roosevelt, who first used the phrase to name the Allied wartime coalition (see stamp illustrated in page 3934). 1. Dr. Wellington Koo signs first for China. 2. Lord Halifax for Britain. 3. Mr. E. R. Stettinius for the U.S.A. 4. Mr. Andrei Gromyko for Russia. 5. Mr. Francis Michael Forde for Australia. 6. Mr. Mackenzie King for Canada. 7. Mr. Peter Fraser for New Zealand. 8. Field-Marshal Smuts for South Africa.



UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Charter of the United Nations was signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, by representatives of the 50 nations then members. Leading signatories for the 'Big Five' were : Lord Halifax (Britain), Mr. Stettinius (U.S.), Mr. Gromyko (U.S.S.R.), Dr. Wellington Koo (China), and Mr. Paul Boncour (France). Above, two pages showing on left the Soviet signatures and on right those of the British and U.S. delegates. Right, book of the Charter.

Photos, Sport & General ; Associated Press

Just as the Assembly (providing the general base for all the organization's functions) and the Security Council were in effect strengthened developments of the old League of Nations Assembly and Council, so the other three organs set up by the San Francisco Charter were more virile, wider-embracing versions of the specialized sections of the League.

An International Court of Justice, composed of fifteen members of different nationalities, was set up to carry on the international legal authority of the old Hague Court, reinforced by the provision that a State might call on the Security Council to assist it in enforcing a decision given by the Court against another State. Here, again, however, the veto power of the "Big Five" would operate.

International Court of Justice

Studies, reports and recommendations "with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters" were entrusted by the Charter to a Social and Economic Council, consisting of eighteen members elected by and acting under the authority of the General Assembly. The specified objectives of the United Nations in this sphere were laid down as the promotion of "higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development," as well as "universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language or religion."

Finally, the Charter set up a Trusteeship Council, which in adapted form was to take over the work of the old League Mandates Commission. The terms of reference of this Council were the subject of several heated discussions in the course of the Conference, especially as it was a subject not adumbrated in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and the section of the Charter establishing it was a synthesis of several sometimes conflicting memoranda tabled by various delegations.

Finally, after discussion had ranged from the need for military secrecy concerning the administration of small Pacific islands to the relative virtue of the words "self-government" and "independence" as stipulated goals for the administering authority, a compromise draft was reached on this as on other questions.

It covered three classes of territory : areas already mandated to members of the United Nations, areas "which may be detached from enemy States as a result of the Second World War," and areas "voluntarily placed under the system by States responsible for their administration."

A movement early in the Conference to give the Assembly power to bring territories within the system without the consent of the administering State met with heavy opposition from the principal colonial Powers and was shelved.

Two further additions to the old mandate system in the new Charter were the provision of special arrangements under the direct control of the Security Council for areas specified as "strategic," and agreement that States administering trustee areas might levy local forces to assist in carrying out their security obligations to the organization.

Thus, in a lengthy document of 111 Articles, every word of which had to be hammered out over the Conference table, the victors of the Second Great War laid down at San Francisco the framework of a body which, they hoped, would ensure that war would never recur. At the final session Lord Halifax of Britain was in the Chair, and when he called for a vote on the adoption of the Charter he asked delegation heads to register their approval by standing in their places, because "this issue upon which we are about to vote is as important as any we shall ever vote on in our lifetime." Fifty men stood, representing some two thousand million seekers after peace.

Chapter 382

AWARDS AND DECORATIONS OF 1939-45

Nearly two hundred new decorations and medals were issued throughout the world during the period of the Second Great War. Most of the British and Dominion ribbons and certain Allied ones are shown in colour in the plate facing this page. In this chapter details about them are given by Mr. L. F. Guille

THE George Cross and the George Medal of Great Britain were first announced by H.M. King George VI in a broadcast on September 23, 1940 (*see* page 1212 and Hist. Doc. No. 178). Queen Victoria had, of course, named the Victoria Cross after herself, and King Edward VII the Edward Medal (for bravery in industrial accidents) after himself, but this was the first time a Monarch had announced in person to his people the creation of a new decoration. The Cross and Medal (the former ranking second only to the V.C.) are awarded solely for acts of the greatest heroism or of the most conspicuous courage in circumstances of extreme danger, the degree required for the Cross being of a higher standard than for the Medal. When the ribbon of the Cross is worn alone, a small silver replica of the Cross is worn upon it.

Lloyd's War Medal (instituted December 1940) was a distinction which was awarded to those who kept Britain's life line open—the men of the Merchant Service. "Lloyd's"—the world centre of Marine Insurance—

LLOYD'S MEDAL FOR BRAVERY AT SEA
White ribbon with blue stripe near each edge
Courtesy of Lloyd's

made grants of the medal in cases of exceptional bravery in the working of merchant ships or of the saving of lives of their crews. The colours of the ribbon are white with a broad blue stripe near each edge.

When the Airborne troops were formed it was found that in certain cases none of the existing flying decorations fitted their particular cases of heroism, and it was decided, therefore, to extend the award of the Conspicuous Gallantry Medal (a Naval award) to them. The Airborne Medal is of the same design as the Naval one, but the ribbon has a pale blue (instead of white) centre between dark blue edges.

The Air Efficiency Award (instituted September 1942) is granted to those who have served as Volunteers in the Air Forces of the Empire for a period of ten years, officers and men alike. It is the counterpart of the Royal Naval Volunteer and the Territorial Decorations. The ribbon is dark green with two narrow pale blue stripes in the centre.

To recompense those of the Allied Nations or other foreign subjects who rendered services of eminent character in the cause of freedom and those who displayed gallantry in doing so, H.M. the King created on August 28, 1945, two medals—King George's Medals for Service in the Cause of Freedom—the ribbons of which only had been designed by 1946.

Announcement in 1943 of the institution of two British Campaign Stars, followed in May 1945, by that of six other Stars and a Defence Medal to be awarded for service in the British forces, was the occasion of general approval inasmuch as many of the other Allies had already gone far ahead in this matter. The stars were named to indicate the territory covered. Regulations for these stars, consolidated in May 1945, were further revised in June 1946. Briefly the qualifications for eligibility were as follows:

1939/45 Star. Originally the 1939/43 Star (announced in 1943), the currency of this was in June 1946, prolonged to May 8, 1945, and again (in June 1946) to September 2, 1945. Six months' service in an operational area was required to qualify; certain exceptions such as Commando raids, Air Crew service of two months and service brought to an end within these periods by death, wounds or other disability also qualified. The granting of an honour or mention was also a qualification. Air crews of fighter aircraft who took part in the Battle of Britain in 1940 wear a special distinction in the form of a gilt rose on the red portion of the ribbon.

Atlantic Star. This award was primarily intended to commemorate the Battle of the Atlantic and was given to those who, also being eligible for the 1939/45 Star, served six months at sea in the Atlantic zone. If the bearer is also qualified for the France and Germany or Air Crew Europe Stars (or both) he wears a silver rose in the centre of the ribbon.

Air Crew Europe Star. Awarded for two months' service and at least one operational sortie over enemy territory, but the 1939/45 Star must first have been earned. A silver rose indicates that the wearer has also qualified for the Atlantic or France/Germany Star.

Africa Star. This Star was granted for operational service of any length in North Africa from the time Italy entered the war (June 10, 1940) to the date when the last enemy resistance in that continent ceased (May 12, 1943). The emblems "8" and "1" worn on the ribbon indicate service with those respective armies while a silver rose shows closely supporting formations of all three services.

Pacific and Burma Stars. Entry into the operational areas was sufficient to gain one of these stars, while if the wearer also qualifies for the other he adds a silver rose.

Italy, and **France and Germany Stars.** Similar conditions to those above prevail for these stars, but both ribbons can be worn at the same time. The Italy Star was awarded for service from the capture of Pantelleria (June 11, 1943) to May 8, 1945.

The Defence Medal. This was intended to recompense all who—if in the Civil Defence Services—had served for over three years and those also in the armed forces who had served three years at home or more than one year abroad in non-operational areas. This ribbon bears silver laurel leaves if the wearer has been awarded a King's Commendation for Brave Conduct (Civil).

In June 1946 announcement was made of the War Medal, 1939/1945. This was to be granted to all members of the armed forces who served more than 28 days before September 2, 1945. It is upon this ribbon that the Bronze oakleaf for Mention in Despatches and King's Commendation (Air) are worn.

India was specially selected, because of her great area and the diversity of services rendered by her troops, for the award of a separate medal

1939–1945 STAR

AFRICA STAR

ATLANTIC STAR

AIR CREW EUROPE

GEORGE MEDAL

ITALY STAR

FRANCE & GERMANY STAR

PACIFIC STAR

GEORGE CROSS

WAR MEDAL 1939–1945

DEFENCE MEDAL

CONSPICUOUS GALLANTRY MEDAL [Air]

BURMA STAR

KING GEORGE'S MEDAL FOR COURAGE IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

INDIA SERVICE MEDAL 1939–1945

KING GEORGE'S MEDAL FOR SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

AFRICA SERVICE MEDAL (Union of South Africa)

CANADIAN VOLUNTEER SERVICE MEDAL

CROIX DE GUERRE 1939–1940 (France)

WAR CROSS (Norway)

WAR COMMEMORATIVE CROSS (Netherlands)

ORDER OF PATRIOTIC WAR [1st Class] (U.S.S.R.)

ORDER OF SUVOROV [1st Class] (U.S.S.R.)

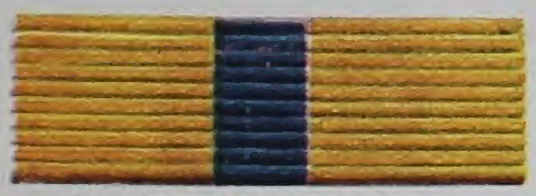
CROSS FOR VALOU (Poland)

FLYING CROSS (Netherlands)

ORDER OF LIBERATION (France)

MILITARY CROSS 1939 (Czechoslovakia)

WAR MEDAL (Norway)



BRONZE CROSS (Netherlands)

DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS (Greece)

CANADA MEDAL

DISTINGUISHED FLYING MEDAL (Greece)

MERCANTILE MARINE (Belgium)

LEGION OF MERIT (U.S.A.)

AMERICAN CAMPAIGN (U.S.A.)

DEFENCE SERVICE MEDAL (U.S.A.)

EUROPEAN–AFRICAN–MIDDLE EASTERN CAMPAIGN (U.S.A.)

ASIATIC–PACIF CAMPAIGN (U.S.A.)

AWARDS AND DECORATIONS OF THE SECOND GREAT WAR

Eight British Campaign awards were approved by H.M. The King during the Second Great War. They were: 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, Atlantic Star, Air Europe Star, Burma Star, France and Germany Star, Italy Star and Pacific Star. (Design of the stars is similar to that of the Burma Star shown here.) approved were the War Medal, 1939-45, the India Service Medal, 1939-45, and the Defence Medal. The George Cross and George Medal were instituted September 23, 1940, primarily to reward acts of gallantry by civilians (men and women), arising out of enemy action, but there is also a small Military Div of the Cross. Ribbons of representative Dominions and Allied awards are also given above.

BADGES OF SHIPS OF THE ROYAL NAVY LOST IN 1944

Represented here are 14 destroyers, 5 minesweepers, 3 cruisers, 2 sloops and the submarine 'Syrtis', all of which were lost during the year 1944. They include the cruiser 'Penelope' (see page 2285)—H.M.S. Pepperpot of the Malta run—and the destroyer 'Janus', veteran of Matapan, which were sunk during the Anzio beach-head operations in January; the destroyers 'Boadicea' and 'Swift', both lost in the Normandy invasion landings in June; and the sloop 'Woodpecker' of 'Walker's Circus' (see page 2854).

From material supplied by H.M. Dockyard, Chatham. By permission of H.M. Stationery Office

BRITISH 2nd

BRITISH 5th

BRITISH 7th (ARMOURED)

BRITISH 11th (ARMOURED)

BRITISH 15th (SCOTTISH)

BRITISH 36th

BRITISH 43rd (WESSEX)

BRITISH 46th

BRITISH 49th

50th (NORTHUMBRIAN)

BRITISH 51st (HIGHLAND)

BRITISH 52nd (LOWLAND)

BRITISH 53rd (WELSH)

BRITISH 56th

BRITISH 78th

GUARDS ARMOURED

4th INDIAN

5th INDIAN

7th INDIAN

8th INDIAN

17th INDIAN

19th INDIAN

20th INDIAN

23rd INDIAN

25th INDIAN

26th INDIAN

44th INDIAN

11th EAST AFRICAN

81st WEST AFRICAN

82nd WEST AFRICAN

DIVISIONAL SIGNS OF THE BRITISH AND INDIAN ARMIES

Distinctive signs for the Divisions of the British Army were used during the war of 1914-1918, and were again employed in the Second Great War. Armies and Corps also had their own insignia (see plate facing page 3483). This selection is representative of the many well-designed 'flashes' worn by British and Indian Divisions whose names frequently occur in the pages of 'The Second Great War', between 1939-1945. Also included are those of the three African Divisions which fought in Burma.

UNITED KINGDOM

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

AUSTRALIA

CANADA

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

INDIA

NEW ZEALAND

IRAQ

EGYPT

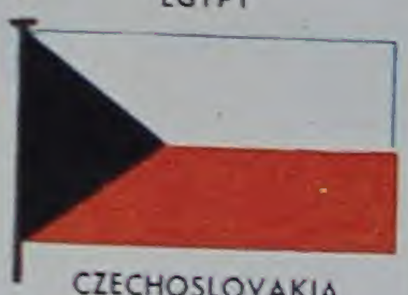
ECUADOR

VENEZUELA

SAUDI ARABIA

SYRIA

LUXEMBURG



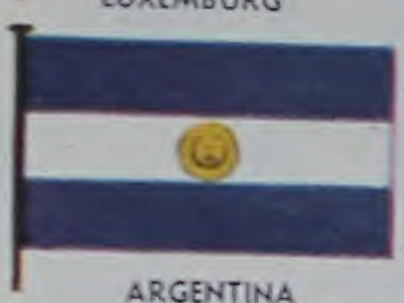
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

URUGUAY

NICARAGUA

PHILIPPINES

PANAMA



ARGENTINA

DENMARK

BELGIUM

MEXICO

NORWAY

GREECE

COSTA RICA

ETHIOPIA

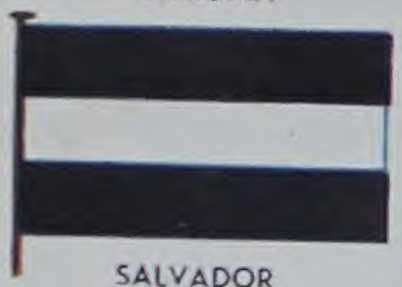
COLOMBIA

BRAZIL

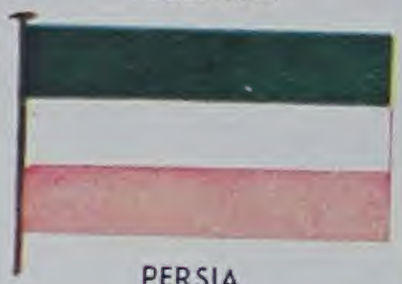
BOLIVIA

CHILE

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC



SALVADOR

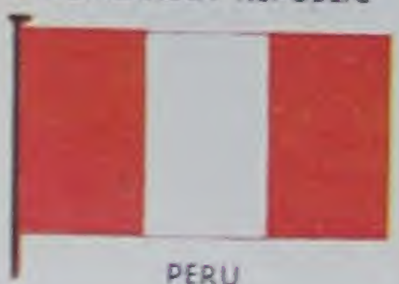


PERSIA

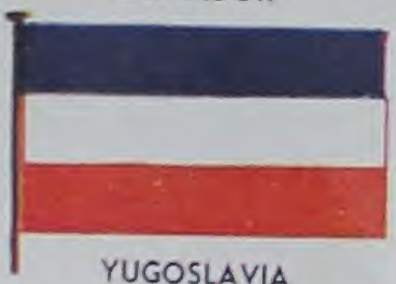
HONDURAS

GUATEMALA

PARAGUAY



PERU



YUGOSLAVIA

TURKEY

CUBA

HAITI

LIBERIA

BYELORUSSIA

UKRAINE

FLAGS OF THE FIFTY-ONE UNITED NATIONS

The First General Assembly of the fifty-one United Nations (whose flags are shown here) opened in London on January 10, 1946, in accordance with the Charter drafted at San Francisco in 1945 (see Chapter 381). It was described as 'a general international organization to maintain peace and security' and 'prevent aggression and remove the political, economic and social causes of war'. Its principal decisions are recorded in Chapter 387.

LEBANON

CHINA

POLAND

NETHERLANDS

FRANCE

entitled the India Service Medal, 1939/45, which was given to all after three years' non-operational service. It could not be awarded in addition to the Defence Medal. It will be noted that the ribbon colours selected—light blue and dark blue—were those of the two premier Indian Orders, The Star of India and the Indian Empire.

Designs of the various stars were approved in March 1946, and from the example given in the colour plate facing page 3938 it will be seen that they are six pointed, bearing in the centre the Imperial cipher surmounted by a crown with, below, a scroll giving the name of the relative campaign. All eight stars are similar except for the name on the scroll. The metal is a bright coppery colour and a ring is provided for suspension from the ribbon.

The British Dominions created their own medals. The Canada Medal of 1943 was an award for outstanding services to the Dominion and not a campaign medal like the Volunteer Service Medal. The silver maple leaf on the ribbon of the latter represents "overseas" service, those who did not leave Canada wearing the ribbon alone. (*See* also illus. in page 3734.) The Africa Service Medal is awarded to "all members of the Union Defence Force or other uniformed forces of the Union who attested for service in Africa before May 13, 1943" (the day the last enemy units in Africa surrendered). Its ribbon shows the orange of the flash which Union troops wore with so much pride in other parts of Africa, together with the green and gold "Springbok" colours. The medal had not been struck by August 1946.

The Belgian Mercantile Marine Medal is an exceedingly handsome piece, being of dark bronze, circular without raised edge, and having on the obverse the Lion of Belgium and on the reverse the interlaced initials L III. The supporting ring is attached by means of a decorative bow. Belgium, like France, changed the design of the ribbon of its Croix de Guerre, adopting a deep red colour with three narrow green stripes near each edge. After the conclusion of the war five new medals were instituted: The War Commemorative Medal (yellow with black-white-black stripes at each edge); the Volunteers Medal (9 dark blue and 8 red stripes); the Resistance Medal, black with green edges and two narrow red centre stripes; and also a Reconnaissance Medal and a Civic Cross.

Belgian Medals

The Military Cross of Czechoslovakia (instituted in 1939) consists of four barbed arms with, in the centre, a shield bearing the country's arms. Two swords appear in the angles. Many of these crosses were awarded to British airmen. A Military Medal was also instituted by Czechoslovakia, the ribbon of which is blue with two red stripes in the centre and with red edges. Between the colours is a narrow white stripe. This medal ranks below the Military Cross, though officers and men are eligible for both.

A distinct departure from the conventional is evidenced in the French Order of Liberation. It consists of an oblong "plaque" down the centre of which passes a sword, the hilt bearing a square "ring" for the ribbon. The obverse shows the Cross of Fighting France, while the back bears the inscription in large Roman letters "patriam servando victoriam tulit." The French Croix de Guerre used in the First Great War was revived in 1939, though with the altered ribbon shown and the dates on reverse changed. This ribbon was used by the Fighting French while the Vichy Government adopted a ribbon with black stripes, curiously enough the same colours as those of the Order of Liberation.

ORDER OF LIBERATION
Green ribbon: black stripes and black edges
Courtesy of J. R. Gaunt, Ltd.

Greece followed the Netherlands and Britain in selecting the diagonal pattern for its Flying award ribbons. The designs were not determined in August 1946. Ribbons of the Greek D.F.C. and D.F.M. are shown in the plate facing page 3938, while white and grey are used in the Greek counterparts of the British Air Force Cross and Medal.

The Flying Cross of the Netherlands is a silver cross pattée bearing a flying eagle on a crowned "garter" worded "Initiative, Courage, Perseverance." The date 1941 appears just above the eagle. The Bronze Cross was instituted by Queen Wilhelmina to reward gallantry or leadership in the presence of the enemy. It could be awarded to all the forces and to civilians, foreigners as well as Dutchmen, and if awarded "with honourable mention" bears a gold crown on the ribbon. Action against the enemy was the criterion for the award of the War Commemorative Cross, each successive engagement being indicated by a bronze star. The cross was awarded to all participants on the same lines as British campaign stars.

Norway's War Cross was instituted, like its War Medal, in 1941. Both are in bronze, the Cross having three half circles at the end of each arm with the Norwegian Lion on a crowned shield in the centre. It was awarded to both officers and men for conspicuous gallantry. The medal bears King Haakon's effigy below his name HAAKON VII and above the motto ALT FOR NORGE. The reverse has merely the word KRIGSMEDALJE, the Royal cipher and two oak branches. Norway had also a Campaign medal and a Cross and medal for Freedom.

NORWAY WAR CROSS
Red ribbon: blue centre stripe edged with white
Courtesy of Spink & Son

When Poland gained her freedom in 1919 she instituted in 1920 a Cross for Valour which used a purple ribbon with a white stripe near each edge. For the 1939–45 war the Cross was revived and the colours reversed, as shown on the plate facing page 3938. Bars when awarded were indicated by narrow vertical strips of bronze bearing an oakleaf design. Separate medals with ribbons of appropriate colours were awarded to the Army (red and white), Navy (dark blue and white) and Air Force (light blue and white), while the historic capture of Monte Cassino, due largely to the Polish Army in Italy, was commemorated by a ribbon of six bright blue and five red equal stripes.

NETHERLANDS FLYING CROSS
White ribbon: orange diagonal stripes
Courtesy of J. R. Gaunt, Ltd.

The United States broke with tradition in instituting in 1942 the Legion of Merit, in four classes. The highest, Chief Commander, has a large, white, five-armed cross which is worn on the left breast. Commanders wear a smaller cross suspended round the neck and the two lower classes are worn on the left breast; the higher, officer, having a

small gilt model of the cross on the ribbon, legionaries wearing it plain. In undress uniform the various ranks are indicated by emblems on the ribbon; a small gilt horizontal bar, bearing the same miniature as that for officers, being used by Chief Commanders, the same in silver by Commanders and the miniature alone by officers. It is awarded to the "armed forces of Nations friendly to the United States" (Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein being a Chief Commander) as well as the armed forces of the United States and the Philippines.

American Awards

The American Defence Service Medal was awarded for service "during the limited emergency proclaimed by President Roosevelt on September 8, 1939, or the unlimited emergency proclaimed on May 27, 1941," *i.e.* before Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. The campaign ribbons are self explanatory. The American Victory medal ribbon has a centre of red with on either side a miniature Victory ribbon of the First Great War. The occupation of Germany is commemorated by a ribbon half black and half red, with white edges.

After the Revolution in Russia in 1917 decorations were abolished, but it was soon found that even men of Soviet Russia liked to deck themselves with symbols of service and merit, and they were gradually restored. In all, some 50 different orders and medals were available for award by the end of the Second Great War, not to mention numerous "badges" which have no ribbons.

The highest award, the Gold Star, is worn on all occasions, being suspended from a narrow scarlet ribbon. The Order of Suvorov, named after Russia's famous Marshal of Napoleonic times, was granted on much the same terms as the Order of the Bath (Military Division), *i.e.* for the direction of successful operations of bodies of troops varying in size from armies to battalions. The second and third classes of this Order have on their ribbons orange edges to the green and the third class an additional narrow orange central stripe. The Order of the Patriotic War, however, was given for personal gallantry during the German invasion and was the award for the "Resistance" or guerilla movement.

HOW THE NAME IS STAMPED

An innovation at the Royal Mint was the employment of women for the making of decorations for the Second Great War. Each medal has the name of the man or woman to whom it has been awarded running round the edge. Here, a woman stamps with a punch the name of the recipient on the rim of a medal.

Photo, 'Illustrated'

BRITISH CAMPAIGN STARS READY FOR ISSUE

The striking of the Campaign Stars instituted by King George VI for service in the Second Great War was begun at the Royal Mint and the Royal Ordnance Factory early in 1946. Designs for the eight stars—the 1939-1945 Star, Atlantic, Air Crew Europe, Africa, Pacific, Burma, Italy, and France and Germany Stars—were prepared in the Mint where women workers here examine finished awards before packing them.

Photo, P.A.-Reuter

Russian Military and Civil Awards

Other national heroes' names besides Suvorov have been utilized to embellish Soviet orders, amongst them being Kutuzov (another General of the Napoleonic era), Alexander Nevsky (a medieval hero), and Bogdan Khmelnitsky; Nakhimov and Ushakov, two Admirals, give their names to two Naval orders. There are in all six classes in the three decorations awarded to the Mothers of Russia, the "Heroine Mother," the "Order of the Glory of Motherhood" in three classes and the Medal for Motherhood in two classes. The Soviet Union instituted medals (and struck and distributed them) for the Defence of Leningrad, Stalingrad (*see* illustration in page 2421), Moscow, the Caucasus and the Soviet Arctic, and, when the tide turned, for the Capture of Warsaw, Koenigsberg, Berlin and Vienna and the liberation of Budapest and Prague. Soviet Russian distinctions included also numerous other medals for civilian courage, services to Labour, etc.

Chapter 383

LATIN AMERICA AT THE END OF THE WAR

This brief account by Mr. J. C. Metford of events of international significance in the Latin Americas during 1944 and 1945 shows the continuing growth of Allied influence and decrease in that of the Axis in those countries. Internal politics remained as turbulent as ever, and governments new or old were not notably democratic ; but only in Argentina did the Government continue to show a strong measure of sympathy with the Axis

ALARMED at threats to their internal security, Latin American Republics carried out investigations into subversive activities designed to help the Axis. In the first months of 1944 the results of these investigations were made public. It was alleged that Buenos Aires was the centre of Nazi intrigues and this was confirmed when the British authorities in Trinidad revealed that they had arrested Osmar Helmuth, an Argentine of German birth who was on his way to take up consular duties in Spain. The Argentine authorities examined the evidence obtained from him, and on January 25 announced that severe measures would be undertaken to stamp out German espionage in Argentina. Also on January 25, three Germans were arrested in Colombia. On February 5 six Germans were found guilty of espionage in Uruguay and on February 10 Brazil announced the discovery of a spy ring in Porto Alegre. On February 22 the Chilean Government arrested fourteen suspected persons and claimed to have smashed an Axis spy ring organized by Ludwig von Bohlen, former German Air Attaché in Chile. One hundred more arrests were made within the next few days and a short-wave radio transmitter was seized. The Peruvian Government announced that it had deported into the interior German and Japanese subjects who had attempted to seize power and set up a pro-Nazi regime. Although Germany had all along denied interference and espionage in South America, her guilt was proved.

There remained nevertheless the possibility that Germany would attempt to use the notorious instability of South American governments to destroy the solidarity of the Pan-American front against the Axis. For this reason, the Inter-American Committee for Political Defence decided to ask its member nations not to grant recognition to any new government established by force in South America until its anti-Axis stand had been proved. This was a very necessary precaution as, throughout 1944 and 1945, political unrest was prevalent in the Latin-American states.

Maintaining Anti-Axis Front

Brazil continued her active participation in the war, the Navy on October 11, 1944, assuming entire responsibility for patrolling the South Atlantic. A first contingent of the Air Force left for Europe on January 3, 1944, and others followed. The Brazilian Expeditionary Force (*see* illus. in page 2956) sailed for Italy in May, where it fought with the 5th Army and gave a good account of itself (*see* page 3473 and illus. in page 3467). General Enrico Gaspar Dutra, the War Minister, visited the troops in Italy in the autumn, and went to Great Britain in October, staying for several days in London as the guest of the British Government. Diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were established on April 2, 1945.

BRAZIL

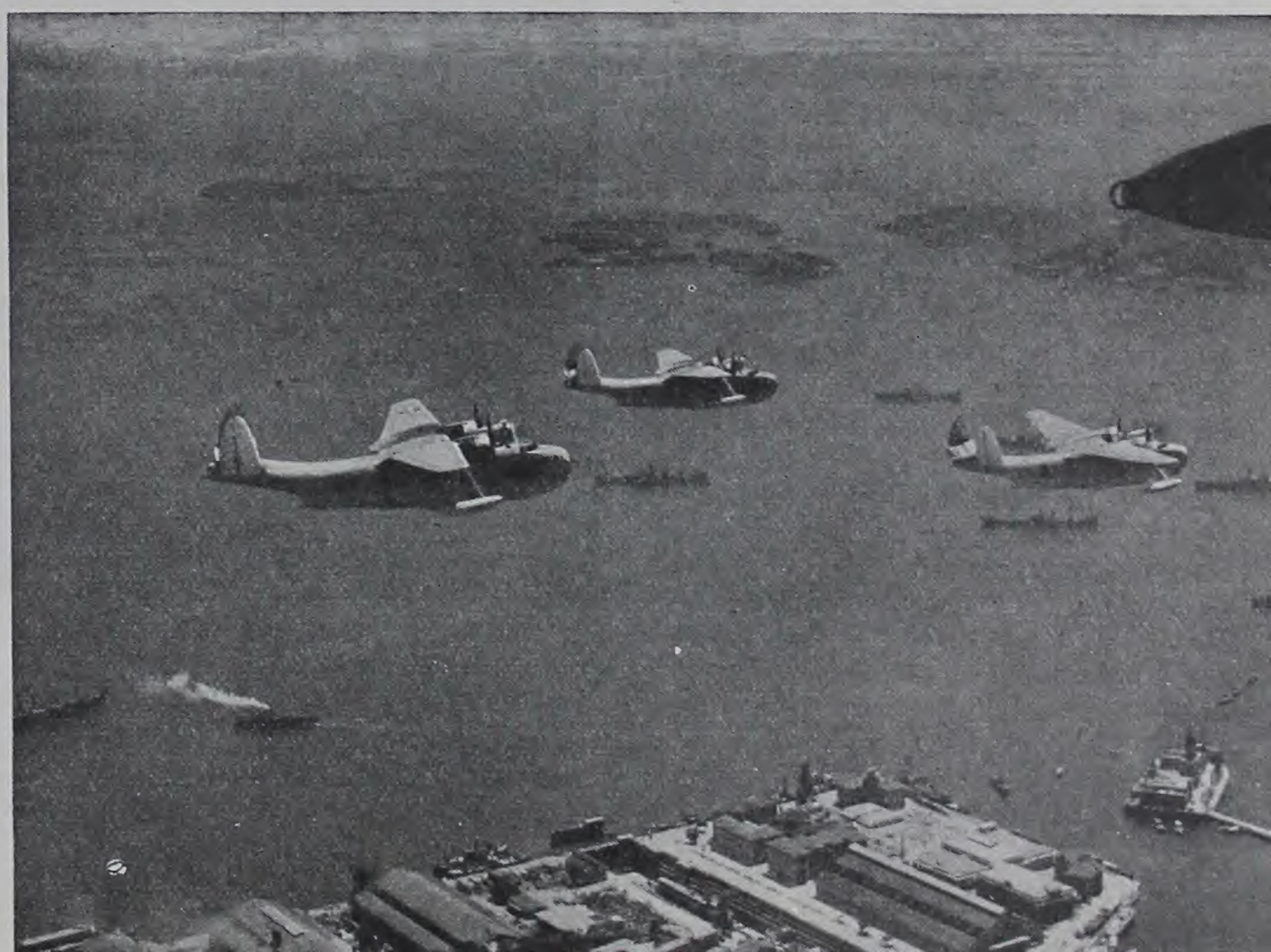
In April 1944, President Vargas promised that after the war the democratic provisions of the constitution of 1937, which had never functioned, would come into force. Nearly a year later, on March 2, 1945, he announced that he intended to surrender his dictatorial powers. Greater freedom was accorded to the Press, and an amnesty was granted to political prisoners. A decree made at the end of April fixed December 2 as the date for the election of a President and Congress, and a few days later compulsory voting for all literate Brazilians, men and women, over 18 was introduced. Dr. Vargas, who had said he would not stand for the presidency again, was compelled by the army chiefs to resign on October 30 on the eve of his fifteenth anniversary in office. In the elections, held as announced on December 2, General Dutra (Social Democratic candidate) was elected President, while the Social Democrats secured forty per cent of the seats in Congress, next largest party being the National Democratic Union with 33 per cent.

Chile established diplomatic relations with Russia on December 11, 1944, at a meeting between the Ambassadors of the two Governments in Washington :

U.S. NAVY FLYING BOATS OVER RIO

From her entry into the war on August 22, 1942, Brazil joined the United States in the naval and air patrolling of the South Atlantic until, on October 11, 1944, she assumed sole responsibility for this task. Below, in February 1944, Mariner flying-boats of the U.S. Navy on patrol fly over the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, capital of Brazil, escorting an Allied convoy.

Photo, Keystone



U-BOAT SURRENDERS NEAR BUENOS AIRES

At Mar del Plata, near Buenos Aires, the German submarine U 530 surrendered to the Argentine authorities on July 10, 1945 (see page 3504). The commander and crew of 54 were in an advanced state of malnutrition. Here, Argentine sailors man the surrendered U-boat from which the Germans had jettisoned the guns. Right, Captain Otto Wermuth (centre, wearing Iron Cross), with two fellow officers. Above, right, the U-boat putting in at Mar del Plata. *Photos, Associated Press*

Argentina again became strained. The situation was eased when President Farrell appointed a Radical, Dr. Juan Cooke, as Foreign Minister on August 28, with a free hand to co-operate with the United Nations.

President Lopez of Colombia visited the United States in January 1944, and on the 17th signed the Washington Declaration at the White House on behalf of his country. The isolationist party renewed its attacks on his administration. A strike was called to force the President from office, and he resigned; but the Senate rejected his resignation. On July 11 a small military group kidnapped him while he was watching army manoeuvres; but energetic action by the Vice-President Dario Echandia and lack of popular support obliged the rebels to release him in a few hours. The leaders of the attack were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

COLOMBIA

On July 19, 1945, President Lopez, whose second presidential term would have expired on August 7, 1946, resigned "to pacify the political atmosphere," and was succeeded by his Foreign Minister, Mr. Alberto Camargo, who had represented Colombia at San Francisco.

On May 24, 1944, the Peruvian Government announced that, in pursuance of the treaty concluded at Rio de Janeiro on March 31, 1942, demarcation of the Peru-Ecuador frontier—in dispute for 120 years—had been completed. An agreement embodying the changes was signed by the Ambassadors of Peru and Ecuador at Rio de Janeiro on February 16, 1946.

Peru declared war on Germany and Japan on February 12, 1945.

On May 27, 1944, a revolt broke out in Guayaquil, second largest town of Ecuador. After two days' sharp street fighting, in which tanks were used and about eighty were killed, over a hundred wounded, the rebels gained control of the town and proclaimed their support of Dr. Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra (president for nine months in 1934-35 until driven into exile in Colombia). Simultaneous risings occurred in Quito the capital and other places, and on May 29 President Arroyo del Rio resigned and took refuge in the U.S. Embassy. Two days later, Dr. Ibarra

ARGENTINA BREAKS WITH GERMANY AND JAPAN

The Argentine Foreign Minister, Mr. Alberto Gilbert, on January 26, 1944, signs a decree in Buenos Aires breaking off relations with Germany and Japan. Nine days later Argentina severed relations with all the Axis satellites. As a result of this pro-Allied display, President Ramirez was deposed by some of his former associates, and his War Minister, General Farrell, who was not recognized by Britain or the U.S., was elected in his stead.

BRAZIL SIGNS CHARTER

Mr. Pedro Leão Velloso (above), Brazil's Foreign Minister, signs the Charter of the United Nations in the Opera House, San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference there on June 26, 1945. His colleagues on the delegation stand to witness the signature. Brazil ratified acceptance of the Charter on August 31.

Photo, Sport & General

there had been no previous diplomatic contact between the countries since Tsarist days. Chile declared war on Germany and Japan on February 12, 1945.

ARGENTINA

Argentina's relations with the United States, never particularly cordial, were seriously strained in 1944–45. Historically, culturally and economically, Argentina had strong ties with Europe, particularly with France and Great Britain, and the mass of the nation was naturally disposed to favour the European Allies, though some of her leaders were sympathetic to Nazi ideology. Moreover, a self-conscious nationalism, born of the country's material and cultural progress, made her aspire to become the champion of the Latin-American republics against dominance by the United States, whose attempts to weld Latin America into unity of foreign and even domestic policy she steadily resisted.

The revelations of Nazi activities in Argentina which followed Osmar Helmuth's arrest forced the Government's hand, and on January 26, 1944, Argentina broke off relations with Germany and Japan. She severed relations with all Axis satellites on February 4. This led to the overthrow of President Ramirez by some of his former followers. Great Britain and the United States refused to recognize his successor, General Farrell (War Minister under Ramirez), who derived his power from the support of Colonel Peron, formerly Secretary of Labour, now Minister of War, and soon to become Vice-President. Peron had a great deal of popular support because he had sponsored forward-looking labour legislation, but he was an extreme nationalist, and under his influence the Argentine Government persisted in a tacit policy of non-co-operation with the United Nations. Only Bolivia, Paraguay and Chile recognized General Farrell.

A growing sense of isolation led the Government in October to send a note to Washington proposing the calling of a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Pan-American Union and the American Republics to consider Argentina's position. This proposal was not accepted, and Argentina thereupon decided to refrain from taking part in meetings of the Pan-American Union. Though she was not represented at the conference of the Union held in Mexico City on February 21, 1945, she was invited to adhere to the Act of Chapultepec (*see* page 3945), drawn up there.

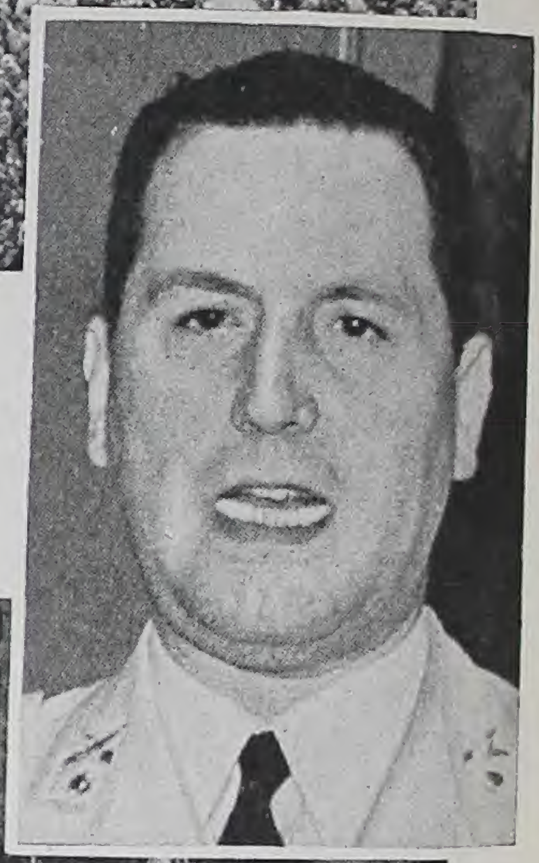
On March 27, a ministerial decree announced the declaration of war on Germany and Japan, and Argentina's acceptance of the Act of Chapultepec. Great Britain and the United States and the other American Republics then resumed diplomatic relations, and although her adherence to the United Nations' cause was after the date set (March 1) at the Crimea Conference by which war must have been declared to entitle a country to an invitation to San Francisco, she was invited to send delegates to the United Nations Conference. Postponement of her admission to the United Nations was strongly urged at San Francisco by the U.S.S.R., Mr. Molotov, the Soviet delegate, declaring that "neither the foreign nor the domestic policies of the Argentine regime in this war have met with the United Nations' approval"; but her immediate admission was voted on April 30 by 31 to 4 (those opposing being the U.S.S.R., Greece, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia).

At San Francisco, Argentina had been supported by the United States; but in June the U.S. Minister in Buenos Aires asserted that the Government was still tolerating pro-Nazi activities, and was not carrying out its obligations under the Act of Chapultepec, with the result that relations between the U.S.A. and

BRAZILIAN FORCES FOUGHT IN EUROPE

Brazilian aircraft served in France with the R.A.F., and the Brazilian Expeditionary Force fought with the 5th Army in Italy from September 1944 till the end of the campaign. (See illus. in page 3467.) Here, Rio de Janeiro turns out, with streamers and confetti, to welcome returning troops in May 1945. Above, member of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force under Major-General Mascarenhas de Morais, disembarks at Naples in July 1944.

Photos, British Official; Sport & General



INTERNAL POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

In spite of Argentina's admission to the United Nations on April 30, 1945, her Government's relations with the U.S. continued to be strained. On September 19 the greatest popular demonstration ever seen in Buenos Aires, organized on a non-party basis by the ' Committee of Democratic Co-ordination,' took place when some 500,000 people called on the Government to resign, acclaiming the U.S. and attacking Colonel Juan Peron (right), the Vice-President, Minister also of War, Labour and Welfare. Above, the demonstration in front of the Congress building. Below, Mexico City parade in September 1944 in approval of the imprisonment of leaders of the ' Sinarquiste ' pseudo-fascist movement.

reached Quito, where he was enthusiastically received. He took over the Government, and was immediately recognized by the U.S.A. and other American republics. One of his first steps was to recognize the boundary treaty with Peru made in 1942 (*see* page 3943), regarded by many Ecuadorians as derogatory to their country.

It was announced on September 17, 1945, that Ecuador had agreed to lease one of the Galapagos Islands to the United States as a base for the defence of the Panama Canal, Ecuadorian sovereignty being guaranteed. In return Ecuador received a loan of twenty million dollars to be expended on highway construction, irrigation, and the improvement of port facilities. The United States announced evacuation of the Galapagos Islands wartime bases (established in 1942) on April 6, 1946.

ECUADOR

Uruguay declared war on Germany and Japan on February 22, 1945. On March 22, it was announced in Montevideo that in order to maintain meat shipments to Britain the Uruguayan Government had prohibited the export of livestock to neighbouring countries and had introduced domestic meat rationing.

General Isaias Medina, President of Venezuela, visited the United States in January 1944. In an address to a joint session of Congress on January 20, he confirmed Venezuelan adherence to the United Nations, and said that all Venezuelan resources and raw materials would be placed at the Allies' service. Venezuela declared war on Germany and Japan on February 16, 1945, and on March 14 established diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R.

The most important event in Mexico of the years 1944-45 was the conference of the Foreign Ministers of all the member States of the Pan-American Union (except Argentina) which, at Mexico's suggestion, met at Mexico City on February 21, 1945. It reaffirmed the solidarity among the American States in face of any menace of aggression from outside the continent, and drew up the Act of Chapultepec (so called after the Presidential residence in which the sittings were held), which laid it down that every attack on the integrity or sovereignty of an American State should be considered an act of aggression against all, and that the Republics should consider the conclusion of a treaty, to constitute a regional arrangement within the general international organization outlined at Dumbarton Oaks, whereby any such threat could be met by force if necessary.

MEXICO

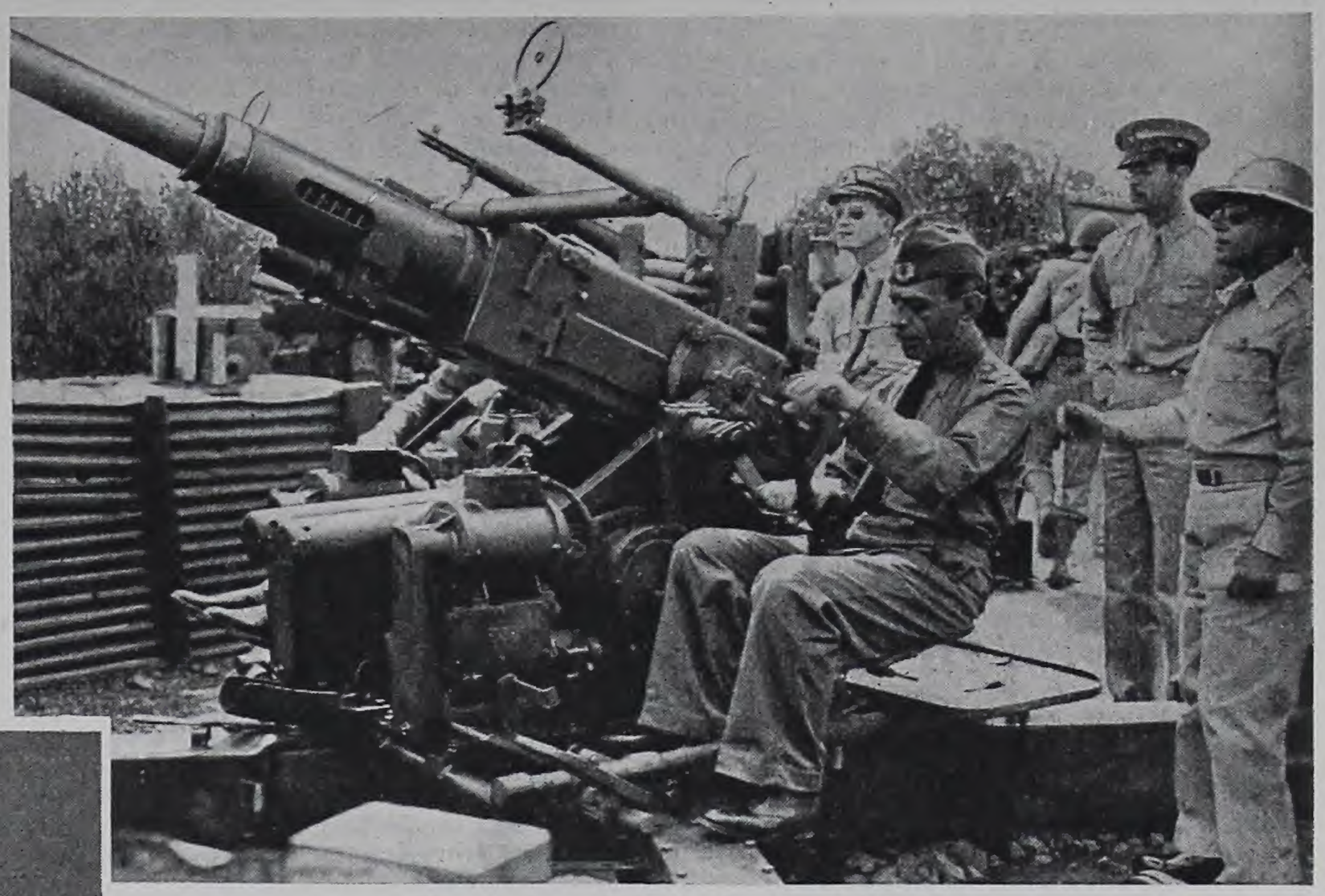
The conference also recommended that the Governments represented should consider the creation as soon as possible of an agency composed of representatives of their General Staffs to organize better military collaboration between them; that the " American system " should be further strengthened by yearly meetings of the Foreign Ministers and four-yearly inter-State conferences; that refuge should be refused to war criminals; that Axis activities within any American jurisdiction should be prevented; and that censorship of press and radio should be removed as soon as possible.

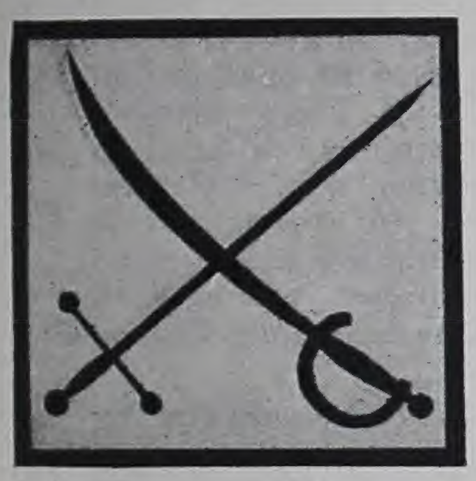
On August 1, 1944, Mexico signed a treaty of friendship with China, after a year's negotiations.

A Mexican Expeditionary Air Force arrived in Manila on May 1, 1945, to fight with, and as part of, the U.S.A. 5th A.F. against Japan. The setting up of a Spanish Republican Government in exile in Mexico City in August 1945 is described in page 3948. On September 12, 1945, the Mexican Government nationalized all deposits of uranium, actinium, and other radioactive substances (of which a number existed in Mexico).

Other Spanish American Republics establishing or resuming diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union during 1944 and 1945 were Costa Rica (May 11, 1944), Nicaragua (December 17, 1944), Bolivia (March 20, 1945), Guatemala (April 19, 1945), and the Dominican Republic (June 29, 1945).

The Second Great War brought many changes to Latin America. The demand for raw materials and minerals led to the exploitation of the natural resources of the continent. Moreover, as supplies of manufactured goods from Europe and United States were largely cut off, many nations were obliged to develop their national industries. Many regions, such as the state of São Paulo in Brazil, became centres for the manufacture of textiles, clothing and machinery. This resulted in a considerable increase in prosperity for some classes, but there was also a steep rise in the cost of living. Much popular discontent was evident, and this provided political leaders with an excuse for overthrowing and attempting to overthrow existing Governments. Nearly all the revolutionaries put forward a programme of extreme nationalism, combined with a promise for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.





DEFENCE OF THE CARIBBEAN SEA

Soon after Colombia declared a 'state of belligerency' (see page 2960), General Domingo Espinel, Colombian Chief of Staff, visited General George H. Brett, U.S. Chief of the Caribbean Defence Command, to co-ordinate Colombian with other forces in the area : he is here seen in the gunner's seat of an A.A. gun at an outpost. Left, badges of the Caribbean Defence forces : south area (black sword and cutlass on yellow, with black border), left : north area (black and white sea-horse on khaki with red bar), right. (See also page 2813.) *Photo, Keystone*

Diary of the War

NOVEMBER 1945

November 1. British warships arrived at Surabaya to evacuate Dutch women and children. British Intelligence decided to presume Hitler dead. Conference of United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization opened in London. U.S. Congress voted $550,000,000 for U.N.R.R.A. New Greek Cabinet formed under Mr. Kanelopoulis.

November 2. Rioting in Cairo and Alexandria and demonstrations in Syria and the Lebanon on the 28th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration; Lord Gort resigned as High Commissioner in Palestine. Belgian Government published notes on interview between Hitler and King Leopold.

November 3. Lord Wavell saw Pandit Nehru. Bardossy, former Hungarian Prime Minister, found guilty of treason and condemned to be executed.

November 4. French Foreign Minister declared that France would oppose central administration for Germany; France decided to give Cambodia internal autonomy. Polling in Hungarian general election. Anti-Jewish rioting in Tripoli.

November 5. Dr. van Mook issued declaration of policy of the Netherlands East Indies Government, proposing commonwealth status. Eight Finnish politicians, including ex-President Ryti, arrested on treason charges. Chinese Government forces arriving at Yingkow found Communists in control. Mr. F. J. Burrows appointed Governor of Bengal.

November 6. First session of the French Constituent Assembly held in Paris.

November 7. Soviet-Turkish treaty of friendship and neutrality (denounced by Russia on March 19) expired; Mr. Byrnes disclosed details of U.S. communication about control of Dardanelles. World air-speed record broken at Herne Bay, Kent, by two British Meteor jet-propelled aircraft averaging over 603 and 606 m.p.h. respectively.

November 8. General Mansergh warned "lawless mob" in Surabaya that they would be disarmed. Announced in Chungking that Government forces were retreating in Hopei province. Lieutenant-General Sir Alan Cunningham appointed High Commissioner for Palestine and Transjordan. Trouble between Royalists and Communists in Bucharest.

November 9. General Mansergh gave 24-hour ultimatum to Indonesians in Surabaya to lay down arms. Mr. Attlee left London for Washington. Reparations Conference opened in Paris.

November 10. Lieutenant-General Wedemeyer, U.S. C.-in-C., China, announced that all U.S. forces would be withdrawn from China by early spring. British forces attacked in Surabaya. Council of Arab League approved common policy on Palestine. U.S. and U.K. recognized Albanian Government on condition that free elections were held at an early date.

November 11. In Washington, Mr. Attlee began talks with President Truman and Mr. Mackenzie King. Polling in Yugoslav general election. Hungarian leaders agreed to form coalition. In London Remembrance Day ceremony at Cenotaph for the first time commemorated the dead of both First and Second Great Wars.

November 12. King Farouk, opening Egyptian Parliament, spoke on Anglo-Egyptian relations and unity of the Nile Valley. China asked Russia for permission to transport Government troops to Manchuria by air to take over as Soviet armies left.

November 13. In Washington, Mr. Attlee addressed joint session of Congress. General de Gaulle unanimously elected head of Government in France. Mr. Bevin announced in House of Commons formation of Anglo-U.S. Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. Shelling by Indonesian-manned guns in Surabaya.

November 14. In Java, new Indonesian cabinet formed under Mr. Sjahrir. Rioting broke out in Tel-Aviv in protest against British proposal for Palestine inquiry. Fierce fighting in Shanhaikwan region of N. China.

November 15. General de Gaulle refused to give Communists any of the "key" portfolios in new French Government. Trial of 40 persons concerned with Dachau concentration camp began at Frankfort. In Budapest, Mr. Zoltan Tildy's coalition Government took over from Hungarian Provisional National Assembly.

November 16. Separatist rebellion broke out in Azerbaijan, N. Persia. Mr. Churchill addressed joint session of Belgian Parliament. Constitution of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization signed in London; conference concluded. Allied Military Government took over Krupps works at Essen.

November 17. Britain recognized Hungarian Government. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Mackenzie King arrived in Ottawa. U.S. informed Bulgaria that results of forthcoming elections were not likely to be recognized.

November 18. Eleven of the 44 accused in the Belsen trial condemned to death. Insurgents took Mianeh, key railway centre in N. Persia, marching towards Teheran. The liner "Queen Mary" docked at Southampton with 3,459 British ex-prisoners of war from the Far East.

November 19. Announced that Chinese Government forces had taken Shanhaikwan, Manchuria, from the Communists. Government's 80 per cent majority in Bulgarian elections announced. French Assembly confirmed General de Gaulle as head of Government. Mr. Attlee addressed joint session of the Canadian Parliament.

November 20. Learned that Persian forces, en route for Azerbaijan, had been turned back by the Red Army. Nuremberg trial of leading Nazis opened. Greek Regent announced postponement of Greek plebiscite until 1948; Mr. Kanelopoulis resigned; Mr. Sophoulis formed new Cabinet. Announced that all Dutch and Amboinese troops were to be withdrawn from Java.

November 21. General de Gaulle issued names of his Cabinet, with himself as Head of Government and of Armed Forces and Minister of Defence. Sir Alan Cunningham, new High Commissioner arrived in Jerusalem.

November 22. Indonesian nationalists, headed by Mr. Sjahrir and Amir Sjarifudin, refused to attend meeting with Dutch. British arms and ammunition at Adraselain, Palestine, stolen by Jews disguised as R.A.F. men. Rioting in Calcutta as protest against trial of "Indian National Army" officers.

November 23. Final result of Yugoslav elections disclosed 90 per cent for Marshal Tito. U.S. Government asked Russia for information about Red Army action in N. Persia. Allied council reached agreement on Austrian currency plan.

November 24. Preparatory Commission of U.N. held inaugural meeting in London. In Italy, Signor Parri's Government resigned. U.S. Government sent note to Russia proposing that all Soviet, British and U.S. forces in Persia be withdrawn by January 1, 1946. Rationing of all food except sugar ended in U.S. Chinese Government forces claimed capture of Hulutao from Chinese Communists in Manchuria.

November 25. Palestine police stations north of Tel-Aviv blown up by armed Jews. "National Congress of Azerbaijan" demanded autonomy within framework of the Persian State.

November 26. In Palestine, British troops held arms search in Jewish settlement of Shefaim, forced to open fire on Jews at Hogla. Herr Figl's People's Party secured clear majority in Austrian elections held previous day. General MacNarney arrived in Frankfort to succeed General Eisenhower in command of U.S. occupation forces. Chiang Kai-shek created Supreme Economic Council for China.

November 27. Major-General Hurley, U.S. Ambassador in Chungking, resigned. Anton Mussert, Dutch Nazi leader, appeared before special court at The Hague on treason charge. Emperor, opening Diet, urged Japanese to "do your best."

November 28. Russians ordered Chinese Communists to leave Changchung and Mukden; Chinese Government forces to be flown in. Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Nye appointed Governor of Madras. Announced that the Böhm and Voss shipyards at Hamburg would be handed over to the Russians.

November 29. Replying to Persian note, Russia declared she would not prevent Persian troops entering Azerbaijan but would have to increase occupation forces in order to maintain peace. Yugoslav Constituent Assembly proclaimed Republic; King Peter and his family deprived of all rights.

November 30. Bill submitted to French Constituent Assembly for nationalization of Bank of France and four principal deposit banks.

Chapter 384

THE NEUTRALS AND ALLIED VICTORY

With the liberation of Europe from the Nazi menace, the situation in Spain came once more into international prominence. Moves by the Republicans, by General Franco, and the United Nations form the major part of this chapter on the history of the neutral countries of Europe during 1944 and 1945. Other countries covered are Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Eire. For their history in 1943, see Chapter 312

PORTUGAL

All official flags in Portugal were flown at half mast from the announcement of Hitler's death on May 3 until noon on May 4. All German diplomatic and official property was seized on the 6th. Twelve days later the Premier, Dr. Salazar, declared that his foreign policy would remain based on the alliance with Britain and friendly relations with the United States. The bases in the Azores granted to Great Britain in 1943 (*see* page 3152) and to the United States were formally returned to Portugal on June 2, 1946.

Internal censorship was removed on October 12, 1945, but as the Press almost unanimously took advantage of this to attack the Government, Dr. Salazar re-imposed it two days later. General elections held on November 18 gave the Government a majority, but as the opposition had in the main boycotted them, the result was not a true index of popular feeling.

The food situation continued difficult, and a drought which did not break until September 7 did great harm to the crops.

SPAIN

At the beginning of February the United States Press published accounts of letters said to have passed between Mr. Churchill and General Franco. Though the text of the letters was not published until September 18, the substantial correctness of the American reports was admitted in London. On November 23, 1944, General Franco had in fact written to Mr. Churchill suggesting that as Spain, the United Kingdom and Germany were the only "virile" powers left in Europe, they should face the "Russian peril" together. Mr. Churchill, replying in mid-January after consulting with President Roosevelt and Mr. Stalin, referred to the British desire for friendly relations with the Spanish people, but dismissed Franco's overtures, and made it clear that there was no question of the British Government supporting the Spanish claim to participate in the peace conference.

Undeterred, General Franco continued his efforts to find favour with the Allies. He released the Italian cruiser "Attilio Regolo" and four Italian destroyers, held since the Italian surrender. His Foreign Minister, Señor Lequerica, on January 17, told the American Press that Spain had never been anything but neutral—her adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact had been purely defensive. In March, Franco sent a strong protest to Tokyo demanding an explanation of atrocities against Spanish subjects in the Philippines and the destruction of their property, with an intimation that Spain would cease to safeguard Japanese interests (as she had been doing since Japan entered the war) in countries with which Japan was at war. Breaking off of diplomatic relations was announced on April 12.

On the cease-fire in Europe, Spain broke off all relations with Germany, sequestered German official property, and "froze" all Axis credits in the country. On May 12, however, at a requiem mass for Hitler the Falangists turned up in force.

Meanwhile, at San Francisco, a motion had been adopted making membership of the United Nations open to all peace-loving nations accepting the obligations of the United Nations Charter, but not to defeated Axis Governments or those imposed in any manner by the military forces of the Axis. Señor Quintanilla, delegate for Mexico, the mover of the resolution, made it clear that the second disqualification applied specifically to Falangist Spain. The communiqué issued after the Berlin Conference stated that the three Governments represented at Potsdam (the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union) "feel bound to make it clear that they would not favour any application for membership of the United Nations put forward by the present Spanish Government which, having been founded with the support of the Axis Powers, does not, in view of its origin, nature, record and close association with aggressor states, possess the qualification necessary to justify such membership." The Spanish Government rejected as "arbitrary and

Spain and the United Nations

LISBON CELEBRATES V.E. DAY

Portugal's unofficial celebration of the end of the war in Europe included demonstrations with prolonged cheers and the waving of Allied flags outside the British and American embassies in Lisbon. Here, making the 'V' sign and cheering, crowds cram the street outside the British Embassy. On May 18, 1945, Dr. Salazar, Portugal's Premier, announced that his foreign policy would remain based on friendship with Britain and the United States. *Photo, Associated Press*

SPANISH REPUBLICANS IN EXILE

Following the election of Mr. Martiñez Barrio as President, a new Spanish Government in exile was announced from Mexico on August 30, 1945, with Mr. Jose Giral as Premier. Above, in the front row, stand President Barrio (wearing spectacles) with Mr. Giral, (centre) surrounded by members of his Cabinet. On the same day the regime of President Barrio was recognized by Mexico as the Government of Spain.

Photo, Pictorial Press

unjust" these expressions concerning Spain: but the prospects of the acceptance of Spain under Franco as a member of the United Nations did not improve.

The relations of Franco Spain with France were complicated by the presence in France of a large body of Spanish exiles, estimated at 130,000, and including more than 10,000 former soldiers of the Republican Army, who were active members of the French Resistance, and in the early part of 1945 were among the forces surrounding German-occupied La Rochelle. After the liberation of the south of France, an uneasy situation developed along the Spanish frontier. One body of former members of the Spanish Republican Army, variously estimated at from 250 to 800 strong, crossed the border in the Roncal Valley on October 3, 1944, and was repulsed by Spanish frontier troops in six days' fighting. Spanish Republicans also took over the consulates of their country at Perpignan, Marseilles, Toulouse, Pau and Bordeaux, leaving only Paris and Hendaye in the hands of representatives appointed by the *de facto* Government of Spain.

Incidents continued on the frontier until on October 27 units of the Spanish Army opened an offensive near Andorra, and in three days drove the Republicans from the Aran Valley. On October 29, the French Provisional Government ordered Spanish Republicans to quit a zone twelve miles wide along the frontier, and to hand over to the French authorities for return to the Madrid Government the consulates they had seized. In pursuance of the French right to maintain order in Andorra which had existed since the time of Charlemagne, a hundred armed French gendarmes entered Andorra on November 14, and Franco later sent 107 Civil Guards to balance them.

At the beginning of 1945, the Spanish Republicans abroad were divided into three groups: the *Junta Nacional* at Toulouse in France, predominantly Communist, but including also Catholics, Basques and Catalans, and headed by Juan Hernandez, who had been one of the organizers of the Maquis (this body was responsible for the border disturbances in the autumn of 1944); the *Junta de Liberacion*, formed in Mexico in November 1943, headed by Martiñez Barrio, President of the last Republican Cortes; and a small group in London headed by Dr. Negrin, the last Republican Prime Minister.

Republican Government in Exile

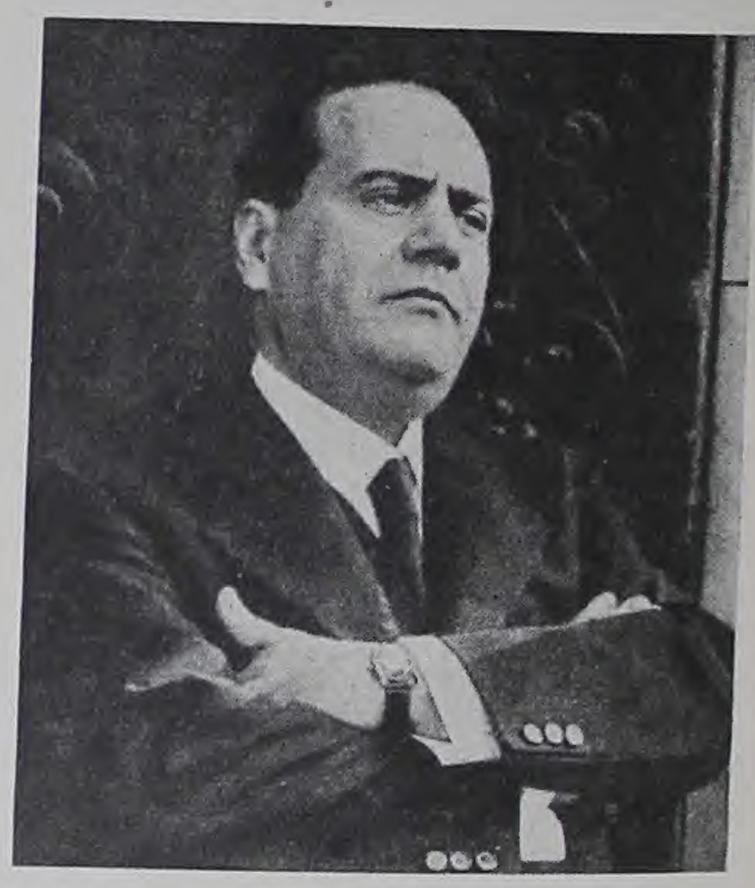
On January 10, 1945, the Republican Spanish Cortes met for the first time in Mexico. Attempts to unite the Spaniards in exile followed. Dr. Negrin, who arrived in Paris on January 26, secured the support of the Spanish Communist Party in Paris and of the *Junta Nacional*. In mid-August the Cortes met again in Mexico City, Dr. Negrin being present. Diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union, France, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua attended. Señor Martiñez Barrio was elected President of the Spanish Republic. Negrin resigned the Premiership, and Barrio asked Dr. José Giral (Prime Minister at the outbreak of the military rebellion in July 1936) to form a new Cabinet. Dr. Negrin and the Communists refused to participate in his Government, but undertook not to oppose it. On August 30, Mexico, which had never recognized Franco, recognized the Barrio-Giral Government as the Government of Spain.

One great success the exiled Spanish Republican Government in Mexico City scored: the resolution against Franco Spain presented by the Mexican delegate at San Francisco and adopted with

ROYAL CLAIMANT

Don Juan, pretender to the Spanish throne, on March 22, 1945, handed a note to the Spanish Minister in Berne for transmission to Franco demanding the latter's resignation so as to leave the way open for a restoration of the monarchy which 'alone can provide an effective guarantee for religion, order and liberty.' He is here at his typewriter.

Photo, Associated Press



REPUBLICAN LEADER

Dr. Juan Negrin, last Republican Prime Minister in Spain, whose Government was overthrown in the Spanish Civil War. He fled to London where he continued to lead the section of the Spanish Republicans in exile in England. He went to Mexico in 1945. Before entering politics, he was Professor of Physiology at the University of Madrid.

Photo, Keystone

AT TANGIER

Occupied by Spain since June 1940, Tangier again became an international zone on October 11, 1945, and the sovereign rights of the Sultan of Morocco were re-established. Nations on the Control Committee were : Britain, the U.S., France, Spain, Portugal, Holland and Belgium. Here, the Mendoub (centre), representing the Sultan, arrives on board a French cruiser which also carried Moroccan troops to police the zone.

Photo, New York Times Photos

acclamation was directly traceable to the successful lobbying of four of its members.

Franco's Government was attacked from another direction on March 22, when Don Juan, claimant of the Spanish throne, demanded Franco's resignation so as to leave the way open for the restoration of the monarchy, and issued a manifesto to the Spanish people suggesting that the monarchy " alone can provide an effective guarantee for religion, order and liberty." This move, however, caused much less stir inside Spain than had been expected. A few Monarchist Ministers and officials withdrew from office, but in general Don Juan's move was felt to be ill-timed. Overtures from Franco to Don Juan made in August met with a rebuff—the Prince resisted any idea of becoming the " inheritor " of the Franco regime.

Don Juan Issues a Manifesto

On May 2, 1945, Laval and his wife, with four other Vichy Ministers, arrived at Barcelona in a Junkers 88 with a German crew. Though requested to leave, he refused to do so, and was interned in the fortress of Montjuich, the Spanish Government refusing to extradite him since he was not classed as a war criminal by the United Nations but was simply wanted by France for trial as a traitor. This brought to a head the hostility felt in France against the Franco regime. Towards the end of May the French Provisional Government sounded Great Britain and America as to the possibility of taking joint action on the Spanish question. But they were not prepared to act against him, though documents covering the period June 1940 to December 1943 captured by their forces in Germany and published on March 4, 1946, provided evidence of Spain's willingness to enter the war on the side of the Axis on condition that Gibraltar, French Morocco and part of Algeria were handed over to her.

The attack by an angry crowd at Chambéry on a trainload of Spaniards, diplomats and others, en route from Switzerland, in the mistaken belief that among them were stragglers from the Blue Division returning home, further strained French-Spanish relations, and on June 21 Spain closed the frontier for three months.

Laval, after ninety days' internment, asked to be allowed to surrender to the United Nations, and on July 31 left an airfield near Barcelona in the same aircraft in which he had arrived.

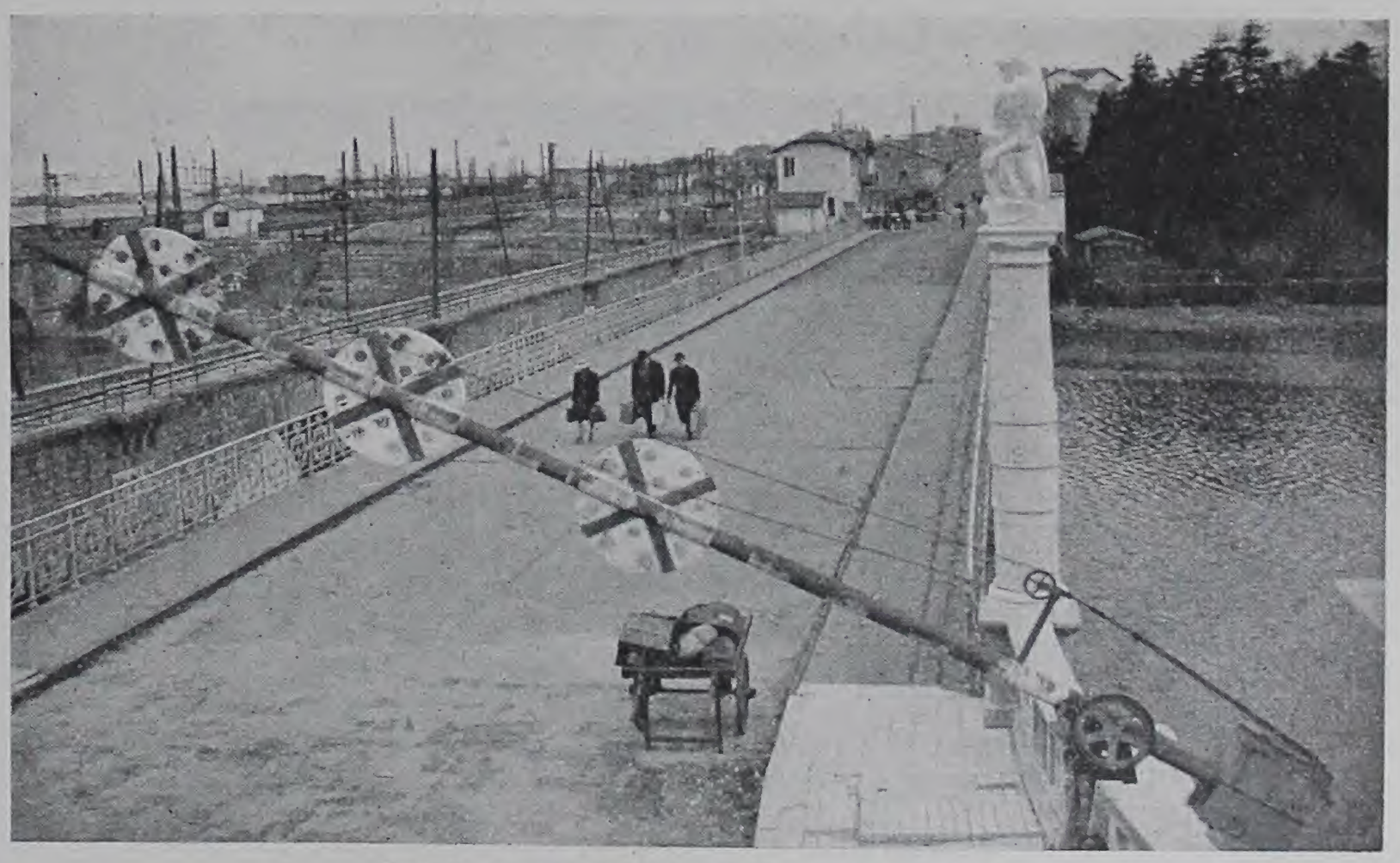
The penal code of Spain was revised on January 13 to include the death sentence for assaults, and prison terms of 20–30 years for insults and other crimes, against General Franco.

On April 13, eve of the anniversary of the establishment of the Republic in 1931, Franco announced that all political charges pending against Spanish Republicans would be dropped, and that consular officials had been authorized to accept applications from exiles to return. The conditional release

NAZI GOLD IN MADRID

At the Barajas airport, Madrid, in January 1946, a U.S. soldier loads bags of German gold on board an American transport aircraft. The money, £250,000 in all, was turned over to the Allied Control Council in Frankfort, including British and U.S. currency, it had been handed to the Spanish Government by the Nazis in Spain after Germany surrendered.

Photo, Associated Press

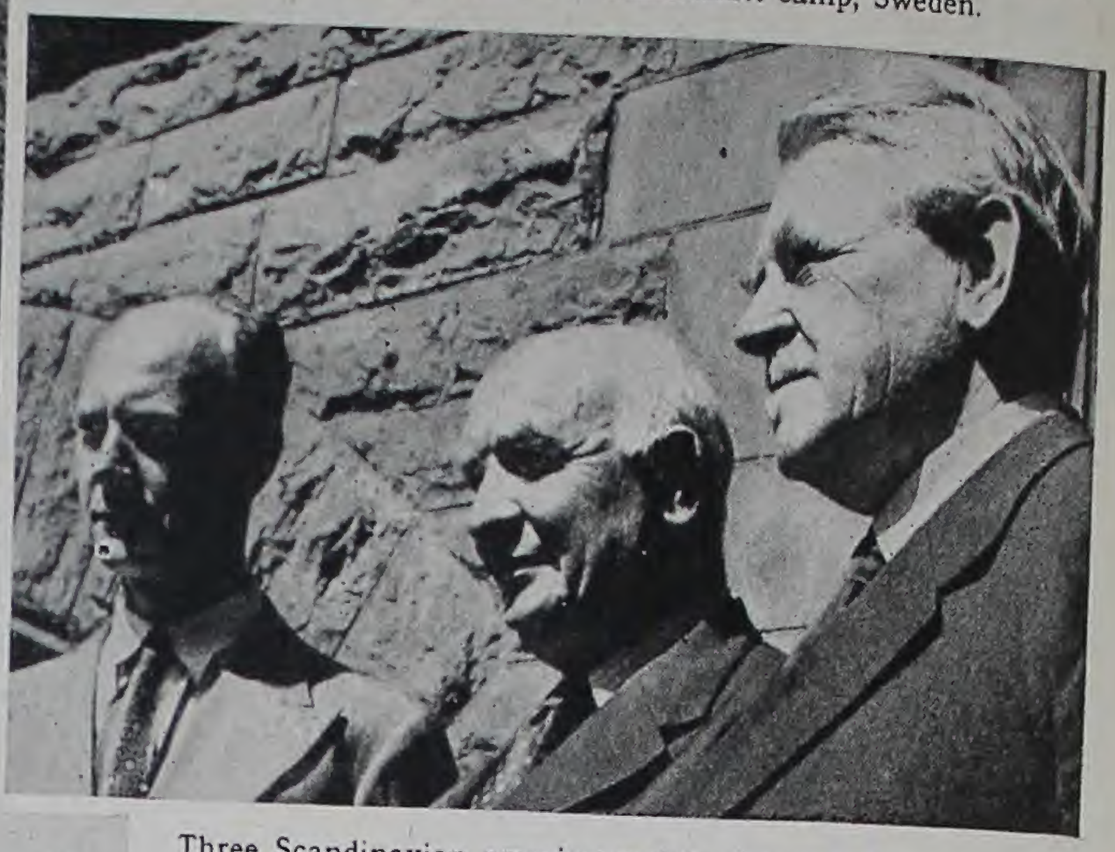


SPAIN CLOSES THE FRONTIER

Relations between France and Franco Spain became increasingly strained after the liberation of southern France, and on June 21, 1945, Franco closed the frontier for three months. Here, at the frontier post at Béhobie-Irun three privileged travellers cross the International Bridge over the Bidassoa River into Spain.

Photo, Associated Press

Sweden sheltered some 48,000 war refugees. Two thousand from Baltic countries taken over by Russia after the war refused to return home, some hunger-striking, others threatening mass-suicide. Left, Balts due for repatriation at Ranneslatt camp, Sweden.



Three Scandinavian premiers met to discuss post-war co-operation at a Trades Union Conference at Stockholm on July 23, 1945. They were (left to right), Mr. Einar Gerhardsen (Norway); Mr. Albin Hansson (Sweden) and Mr. Vilhelm Buhl (Denmark).

The Royal Navy was the first foreign navy to revisit Sweden after the war. Here, the 9,100-ton cruiser H.M.S. 'Birmingham' lies moored behind the still camouflaged Swedish warship 'Sverige,' of 7,000 tons, in Stockholm in early October, 1945.

PEACE MOVES VIA SWEDEN

While on Red Cross duties in Germany, Count Folke Bernadotte, head of the Swedish Red Cross and nephew of King Gustav, met Himmler at Lübeck on April 24, 1945, at the latter's request. Himmler told him that Hitler had only a few days to live and that he (Himmler) was in a position to offer Germany's surrender to Britain and the United States, but not to Russia. He asked that this offer should at once be conveyed to the Allied Powers. Above, Count Bernadotte (left) on arrival in Stockholm on May 1. With him are Mr. Edvin Guenther (centre), Swedish Foreign Minister, and Mr. Axel Bohman, Swedish ambassador to France. Left, crowds celebrate peace in Stockholm.

Photos, Planet; Associated Press; Topical; G.P.U.

of another 2,000 long-term political prisoners was reported on April 22, and of a further 1,032 on August 22. A Bill of Rights, based on the Constitution of 1876, and proclaiming as the guiding principle of the acts of the Spanish State, " respect for the dignity, integrity, and liberty of man " was unanimously approved by the Cortes on July 13. The Falangist salute, hitherto obligatory, was abolished by a decree of September 13. On the other hand, there were numerous fresh arrests of " communists " and others, indicating a state of unrest whose roots lay in economic distress. In 1945 Spain, like Portugal, suffered from drought. For the third year in succession she had a bad harvest, and the exhaustion of her water reserves caused not only actual shortages of water, but also serious cuts in her electricity supplies.

A decree published in Madrid on October 5 vested control of all areas containing radio-active minerals in the Spanish Government—several areas of Spain produce ore containing uranium.

A conference in Paris from August 10–31 of representatives of France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union called upon the Spanish Government to evacuate the Tangier international zone, occupied by Franco in June 1940 (*see* page 1150). The Spanish Government's acceptance of the Paris decisions was announced on September 19, and international administration of Tangier came into effect once more on October 11.

The help rendered by Sweden to her neighbours grew : on February 3 it was stated that 137,000 Norwegian children in 987 places were being given a meal every day at Swedish expense (compared with 500 in 1942 and 115,000 in 1944). In addition, 80,000 meals were being given to old people and 500,000 daily rations to 100 refugee camps in Norway. Including gifts and credits, Sweden's aid to Norway, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands totalled 3,000,000,000 kroner by June. The help Sweden gave in the form of food meant a cut during the year of the Swedish bread ration by seven per cent (to 167 grammes daily), of the fat ration by twenty per cent, sugar by 5.5 per cent, meat by forty per cent.

SWEDEN

On April 29, the Swedish Foreign Office announced that Count Bernadotte, Vice-President of the Swedish Red Cross (who was in Germany in connexion with the repatriation of Swedes living in that country) had been approached by Himmler, who told him that Hitler was a dying man not expected to live more than two or three days, and that he (Himmler) was in a position to offer Germany's capitulation to Great Britain and the United States, but not to Russia, and asked that the Swedish Government should pass on this offer. This was done. In reply, President Truman telegraphed for the three Allies that the only acceptable terms were unconditional surrender to all of them, which message was delivered to Himmler by Count Bernadotte.

On June 18, the Swedish Foreign Office announced that German legations and consulates in Sweden had been sealed and were being held at the disposal of the Allies, while former German diplomats would be handed over if necessary. In a tribute to the Allies in the name of the Swedish people, the Foreign Minister, Professor Oesten Unden admitted on August 16 that the Allied victory had saved Sweden from destruction.

Ten thousand forced foreign workers from Germany, including inmates of Belsen camp, were received in Sweden at the Government's expense for treatment and recuperation. The first contingent left Lübeck on June 25.

Documents discovered in Berlin revealed that early in 1942 Hitler had ordered plans for the invasion of Sweden to be put into effect before that

BRITISH LEAVE TRAINS TRAVEL VIA SWITZERLAND

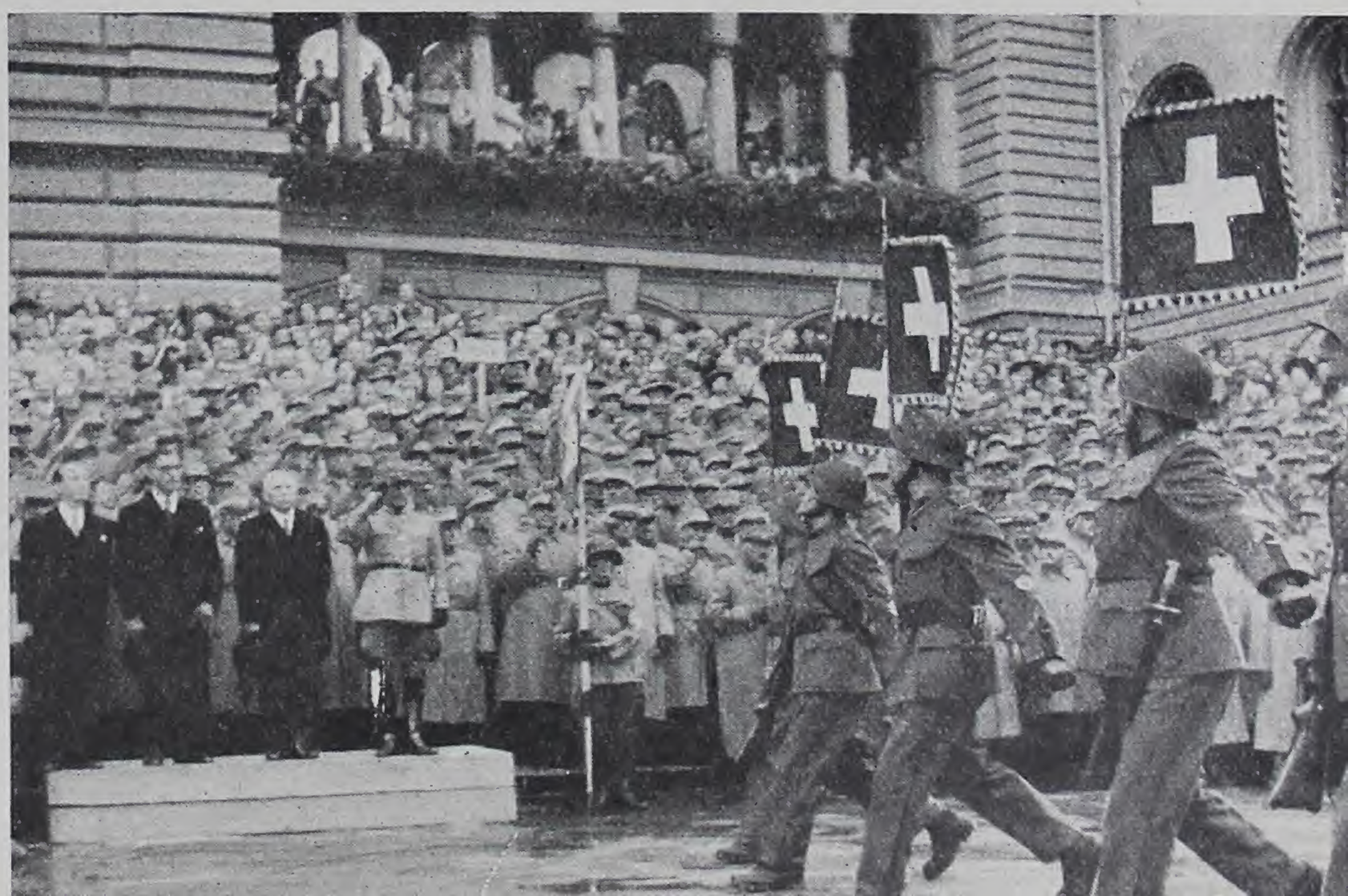
To shorten the long journey for British forces returning home on leave from Italy, the Swiss Government in July 1945 granted permission for them to travel by train through Swiss territory. Here, at Brig, near Lausanne, a leave train packed with British troops draws into the station.

Photo, Keystone

'STAND DOWN' PARADE OF THE SWISS ARMY

On August 19, 1945, the wartime armed forces of Switzerland held a ' stand down ' parade in Berne's Parliament Square. Below, standard bearers march past the Parliament buildings. On the saluting base, from left to right, stand : Mr. Enrico Cleio, Minister of Posts and Railways ; Mr. Carl Kobelt, Minister of War ; President Eduard von Steiger ; and General Henri Guisan, Chief of Staff.

Photo, Keystone



year's summer campaign against Russia. The Swedish Government was, however, warned by an unknown civilian, and the invasion was never attempted.

The substitution of English for German as the principal foreign language taught in schools was announced on November 14.

Six Swiss towns along the border were accidentally bombed by American aircraft on February 22, when 18 people were killed, 30 injured. Bombs dropped on Basle and Zürich on March 4 caused no deaths, but resulted in injuries to a number of people, and twenty fires (twelve of them large) were started in Basle when one of the aircraft, hit by Swiss flak, exploded in the air, scattering its cargo of incendiaries. As a result of these further accidents, it was decided to paint white crosses on roofs, stations and buildings along the entire Swiss frontier. (*See* illustration in page 3158.)

SWITZERLAND

Protests by Mr. Stettinius on behalf of the United States State Department against the continued passage of German war supplies through Switzerland led to a meeting of United States, British, and French representatives with the Swiss authorities and an agreement on March 8 under which trade with Germany was to be reduced to five per cent of 1942 figures, this percentage allowable only on condition that Germany paid in goods, not gold; Germany was denied facilities for carrying material into and out of north Italy; and the carriage across Switzerland of coal, iron, steel and scrap iron was prohibited. Decrees were made on February 16 and March 3 designed to prevent concealment in Switzerland of German assets and irregular dealings in banknotes.

Complaints made in the spring by the Russians as to the treatment of Russian refugees were investigated by a Swiss-Russian commission which included also a French representative. It found that there was ground for the complaints; but the Swiss authorities pleaded the language difficulty and the indiscipline of some of the 10,000 Russians among the 270,000 refugees who had entered their country. The Soviet members of the commission declared that conditions in the camps had been entirely satisfactory since their arrival.

General Guison resigned his wartime appointment as Commander-in-Chief on June 20, and on August 20 the army ceased to be on an active footing. The Swiss Government revealed on October 4 that it had been fully informed of various German plans of invasion, the danger of which had been most acute in March 1943 when thirty German divisions were massed on the frontier.

GERMAN LEGATION RADIO

On May 10, 1945, Eire officials handed to Mr. John Gray, U.S. Minister in Dublin, as representing the United Nations, the keys of the German legation there. Above, radio receiver, formerly owned by Dr. Edouard Hempel, German Minister in Dublin, which, with other German legation property, was auctioned in Belfast. *Photo, Keystone*

When President Roosevelt died, in April 1945, Mr. de Valera not only visited Mr. John Gray, American Minister in Dublin, but also ordered all official flags to be flown at half-mast, and moved the adjournment of the Dail.

EIRE

On receipt of the news of Hitler's death, Mr. de Valera, accompanied by the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, called on Dr. Hempel, the German Minister in Dublin, to express his country's condolences. Apart from Portugal, Eire was the only country to take such action. When attacked in the Dail on July 19, Mr. de Valera defended his action as in accordance with established procedure, and said that it implied "no question of approval, disapproval or judgement of any kind."

On May 8, Dr. Hempel called on Mr. de Valera and handed over the German Legation premises. The keys were handed to the American Minister, representing the United Nations, on May 10.

With the abolition of the censorship on May 11 the Press gave Eire on May 12 the first accounts published there of the Nazi terror in Europe, and also of the part played in the war by Irish-

NEW EIRE PRESIDENT

Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly, Eire's Minister of Finance and Fianna Fail (Government) candidate, was on June 16, 1945, elected President of Eire. He succeeded Dr. Douglas Hyde, the 84-year-old first President, who finished his seven-year term on June 25. Here, Mr. O'Kelly (at table) is inaugurated on June 29 in Dublin Castle. Mr. de Valera stands on his right.
Photo, Keystone

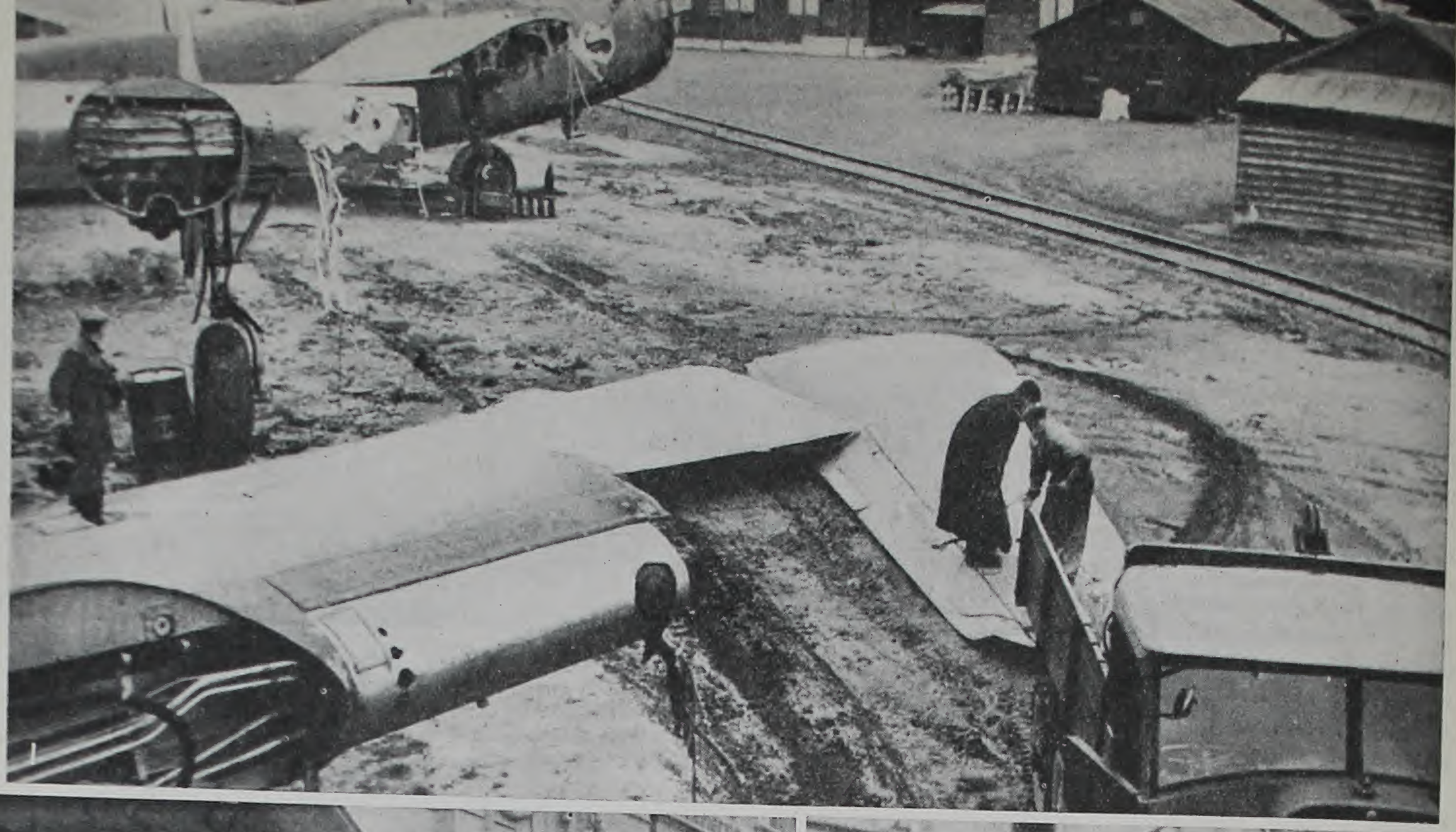
men. The ban on war films was removed at the same time, as well as a number of other emergency restrictions.

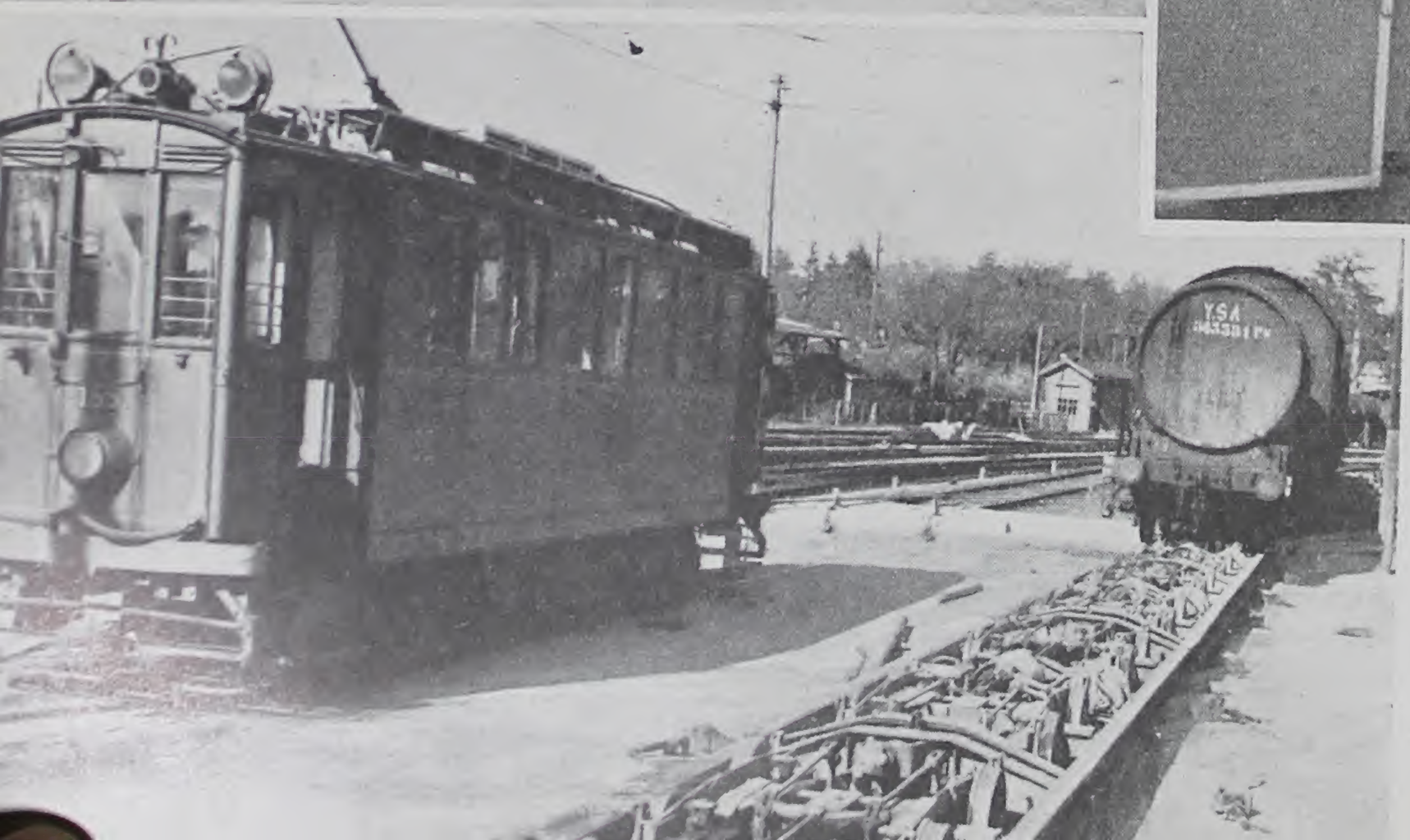
The Dail unanimously adopted a proposal made by Mr. de Valera on May 18 to spend £3,000,000 for the relief of distress in Europe, and shiploads of food, clothing and livestock were sent to the Netherlands, France, and Belgium. An Irish team of 25 doctors and 25 nurses went to the Continent to work with U.N.R.R.A.

Demobilization of the armed forces, to be spread over a year, began on November 1. Private motoring was resumed on November 12, late omnibuses ran again in Dublin from November 26.

Mr. de Valera's statement in the Dail on July 11 in answer to a question that Eire was a republic led to a lively debate, but no modification by the Prime Minister of his position.

Mr. Lemass, Minister of Commerce, announced on June 20 that twenty Irish ships, with 138 lives, were lost during the war, sixteen of them through belligerent action.





REPERCUSSIONS OF WAR IN SWITZERLAND

1. Allied aircraft which landed on Swiss territory during the war and held at Dübendorf. Of 130 machines, 90 American aircraft were made airworthy and flown back to the U.S. 2. Wooden props that had served to strengthen cellars used as air-raid shelters are sawn up for fuel in Berne. 3. Woman tram-conductor in Basle ; as in Britain, women replaced men in Swiss public transport services when man-power was short. 4. Outside Geneva, French rolling-stock, with imports from France, is loaded on a special chassis to be drawn through the town by tram and transferred to the Swiss State Railways system.

Chapter 385

THE SECOND GREAT WAR IN RETROSPECT

Contemporaneous military history is inevitably written under the disadvantage of incomplete information, particularly as regards strategical plans, objects aimed at and resources actually available to each of the combatants. All these are carefully guarded secrets. Furthermore it is impossible to know how much the opponents knew of the situation on the other side when they made their plans. But such points are cleared up completely only long afterwards. The Military Editor, Major-General Sir Charles Gwynn, K.C.B., D.S.O., therefore, here reviews the chief strategical situations and decisions of the war in the light of all available but incomplete knowledge

THE Second Great War obviously divided itself into four main phases: (a) the phase of inactivity; (b) the phase in which the defeat of France made the ultimate survival of the British Commonwealth questionable; (c) the phase which started with German failure at Moscow and the entry of America into the war, assuring the survival of Britain, though the complete defeat of Germany and Japan was still uncertain; and (d) the phase which began with the Russian recovery at Stalingrad and Rommel's defeat at Alamein, leading up to ultimate decisive victory over Germany. Once that was achieved final victory over Japan could be foreseen with certainty. The crisis of this period was reached on June 6, 1944, and passed with the break-out from Normandy.

In the first phase the defeat of Poland was inevitable. The Germans, with immense superiority of equipment, a dominating strategic position improved by the occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, and holding the initiative, had crushing advantages. The Russian invasion of her eastern provinces eliminated the last possibility of Poland's prolonging the struggle, and neither Britain nor France was in a position to intervene effectively.

In 1946, German generals asserted that the Siegfried line, incomplete and lightly held, could have been broken, but that assertion probably depends on unjustified assumptions regarding France's numerical strength and the state of training and equipment of her army. They assume too that France was prepared to violate the neutrality of Belgium. They also claimed that they looked on the Polish war as an isolated incident and were not associated with Hitler's more ambitious designs; that they expected that France and Britain, confronted with the *fait accompli* of Poland's defeat, would accept a negotiated peace.

Views of German Generals

Such statements, if they approximate to truth, may account for the divergent views held by Hitler and his General Staff as to the next step they should take after the conquest of Poland. Hitler appears to have wanted an immediate invasion of the Netherlands. It may also account for the unpreparedness of the Germans to undertake an invasion of Britain when their attack on France had met with complete success.

Although Gamelin was almost certainly well justified in not attempting a major invasion of Germany, in view of the condition of his army and the neutrality of Belgium, his extreme inactivity and obsession with defensive theories cannot be excused. We still do not know what plans, if any, of ultimate offensive action were contemplated by which alone the defeat of Germany could be accomplished, and which alone would have justified the claim that time was on the side of the Allies. We do know the deplorable effects of inactivity on the morale of the French nation and army; and the establishment of unity of command of the Allied armies, from which so much was hoped, proved merely to have made Lord Gort's task more difficult. General Eisenhower was later to show how effectively unity of command can operate; but even in his case, unity and energy in the supreme direction of the war effort were essential factors in making unity of command a reality.

How far the invasion of Norway paid Germany in the long run seems doubtful. It certainly added immensely to the tasks of the Royal Navy and the R.A.F., but it involved Germany in numerous disasters and left her in the final phase of the war without the use of a defensive detachment of considerable size. The British immediate attempt to retrieve the situation with untrained and under-equipped troops was apparently one of the consequences of the establishment of unity of command, for Gamelin would not at first agree to the withdrawal of trained troops from France. What troops from France achieved at Narvik suggests that their earlier employment in the Trondheim region might have met with success.

When the German main offensive started, Gamelin's advance to the Dyle presumably was mainly dictated by the desire to support the Belgians and Dutch and thereby to add to his numerical strength.

Reason for Advance to the Dyle

As a purely strategical move it entailed obvious risks, increased by the fact that he took slow and inadequate measures to defend his flank, and that he retained his main reserve behind the strongest part of the Maginot line. Whether the decision in itself was wrong, or whether it was vitiated by faulty execution, must be left to future historians to decide. It can be noted, however, how curiously the course of action diverged from the passive attitude adopted previously.

The German plan of campaign we now know was not, as in 1914, long prearranged, but was devised during the winter, and was based largely on experiences gained in Poland. It was a bold plan unhampered by scruples; but it by no means ensured the decisive success it achieved, even granting the German superiority in armaments. Superiority in executive skill and more energetic leadership were the decisive factors.

Having overrun France and having virtually disarmed the British Army, Hitler believed that Britain could not continue the struggle, and by the time he realized that she was still undefeated the opportunity to exploit his success farther had begun to pass. Although preparations for the invasion of England had not been made, it is conceivable that an immediate improvised attempt to secure a bridge-head and cross-Channel airfields might have succeeded. As it was, the plans later made for invasion would seem to have been over-elaborate, and involved the employment of forces for which adequate shipping could not be provided. The Battle of Britain, though undoubtedly a decisive factor, did not cause the

RECONSTRUCTION IN GERMANY

When the Allied Control Council took over the internal government of Germany on June 5, 1945, among its most urgent tasks was the reorganization of public life and the restoration of Germany's shattered communications. Berlin, the capital, was divided into four sectors—British, U.S., Russian and French—its administration as a whole being controlled by the inter-Allied 'Komendatura.' 1. Berlin women, under Soviet direction, forming a 'human chain,' pass along pails of rubble in an effort to clear a badly damaged site. 2. Also in the capital—near the Victory Column in the Tiergarten—hungry Berliners clamour for biscuits being served to them from a Canadian Salvation Army mobile canteen. 3. From a bridge spanning the Kiel Canal, a 'Desert Rat,' formerly of the Berlin garrison, watches a passing merchantman. The famous canal was reopened in June 1945, but was not completely dredged until the end of the year.

Photos, Keystone; G.N.S.

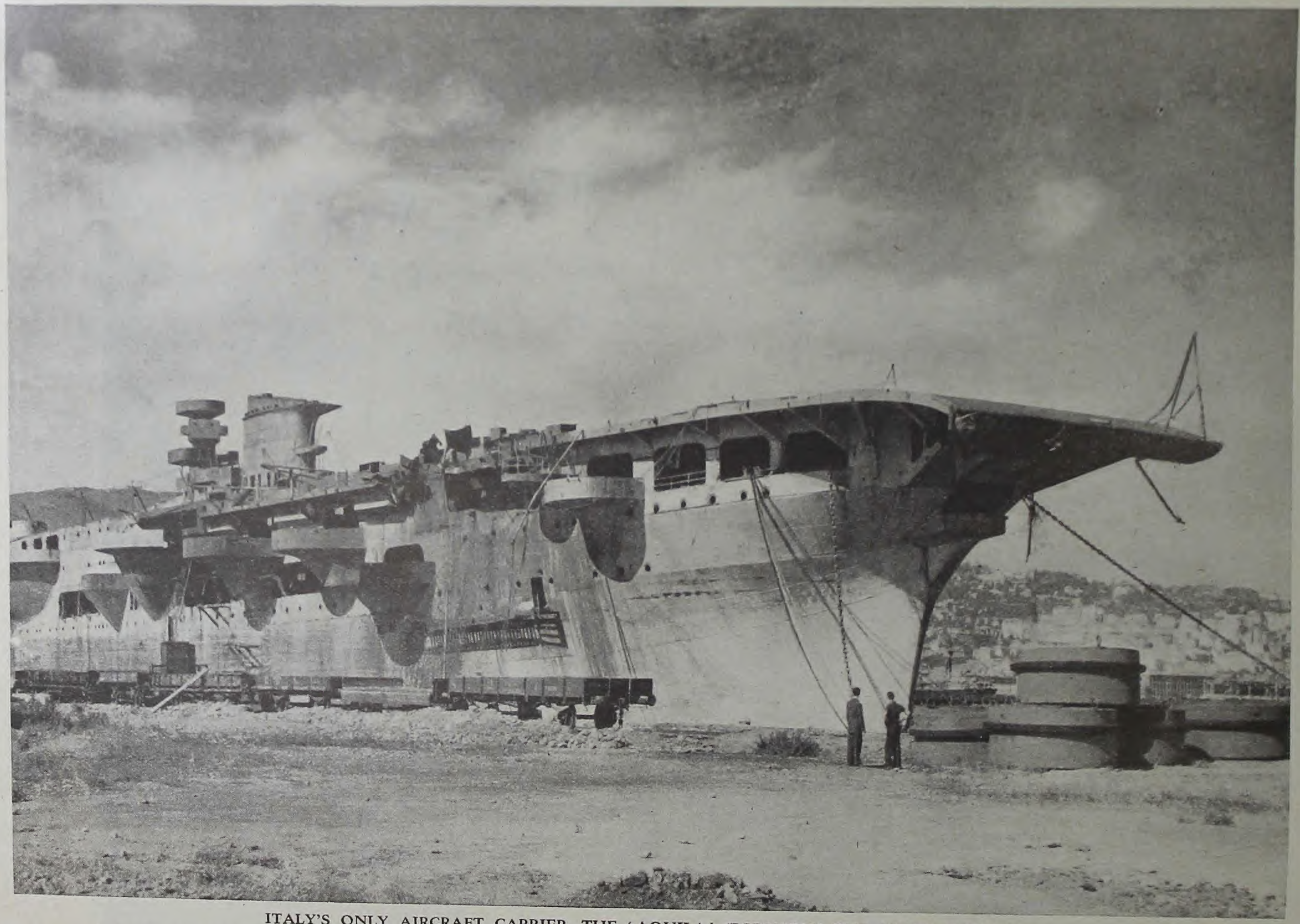
HITLER'S DEFEATED ARMIES RETURN TO THE SHATTERED REICH

An urgent and widespread problem engaging the attention of the Allied Military Government in Germany throughout the autumn and winter of 1945 was the maintenance, disbandment and transport home of several million ex-members of the Wehrmacht taken prisoner as the Allied armies closed in on the defeated Reich. Some had trudged on foot across half Europe, almost all were in rags and in deep dejection. This ragged group back from captivity in Russia was typical of many among Berlin's ruins in the winter of 1945.

Photo, Associated Press

WORLD PEACE ORGANIZATION FOUNDED AT SAN FRANCISCO

The United Nations Conference on International Organization was opened at San Francisco on April 25, 1945 (see Chap. 381) by President Truman, whose inaugural address, broadcast from Washington, is here being relayed to the delegates assembled in the San Francisco Opera House. The conference was attended in its opening stages by representatives of 46 nations. Speeches were made by representatives of the four sponsoring Powers—Mr. E. R. Stettinius (U.S.A.), Mr. Anthony Eden (Britain), Mr. Molotov (U.S.S.R.), and Dr. Soong (China). *Photo, Fox Photos*



ITALY'S ONLY AIRCRAFT CARRIER, THE 'AQUILA' (FORMERLY THE LINER 'ROMA')

In October 1940, having no aircraft carriers, Italy began the conversion into one of the turbine passenger-liner 'Roma' (30,816 tons gross), renaming her the 'Aquila.' Her speed as a liner of 21 knots being inadequate, she was re-engined with four sets of Parsons turbines whose combined S.H.P. of 240,000 increased her speed to over 30 knots. A wooden flight-deck 705 feet long was laid over a hangar measuring 500 by 59 feet, divided into four sections by fireproof curtains. There were two lifts measuring 44 by 48 feet. When Italy surrendered in September 1943, the ship was at Genoa ready for sea trials. The Germans at once ceased work on her Here, the 'Roma' lies in Genoa harbour after the war Note the anti-torpedo nets still draping her side.

Photo, Associated Press

immediate abandonment of the invasion project; lack of suitable craft and fear of British naval action were the ultimate reasons for the final dropping of the plan.

It is still difficult to understand why the Germans, with ample forces available, took no immediate steps to stimulate and support Italy's hesitating action in the Middle East. Reinforced and energetically led, Italy would have had ample resources to make the position of Wavell's and Cunningham's small forces virtually hopeless. It would seem that the contempt with which the German General Staff looked on their partner induced them to refuse to become involved in Italian enterprises, and they failed to intervene until Italian potentialities had been immensely reduced by Wavell's and Cunningham's amazingly bold offensive policy. Intervention when it came resulted, as we know, in a fluctuating struggle in which British reverses were experienced; but it involved Germany eventually in a major disaster.

Puzzle of German Failure to Help Italy

Wavell's Libyan and Abyssinian campaigns, amazing achievements in themselves, were to have far-reaching effects. The latter has been criticized as a dispersion of resources, and it contributed to the first reverse suffered at Rommel's hands in Libya. But apart from the blow inflicted on Italian morale and the re-establishment of our prestige in the Middle East, it was fortunate that when Japan entered the war there were no Italian bases in East Africa which Japanese U-boats and cruisers might have used to threaten our communications through the Indian Ocean. That Wavell was able to achieve so much was no doubt due to the bold decision to reinforce him with troops and armaments which could so ill be spared from England. It was one of the greatest decisions of the war.

The decision to intervene in Greece, which could not be strategically justified, invited a serious reverse; but there are occasions when political considerations and points of honour outweigh strategic expediency. Moreover, the Greek adventure had an astonishingly important unforeseen effect. The Luftwaffe was temporarily crippled, German designs in Syria and Iraq were frustrated, and the invasion of Russia was postponed for at least a month, possibly the main cause of Germany's disaster in the winter of 1941-42.

The part taken by Australian, New Zealand and Indian troops in Wavell's campaigns should never be underestimated. It was a wonderful proof of Empire solidarity, and the contribution made by the Australasian Dominions was all the more altruistic in view of the threatening attitude of Japan even at the time contingents were dispatched.

Hitler's long premeditated and unprovoked attack on Russia was the chief cause of his ultimate defeat. His military advisers undoubtedly looked askance on the undertaking, but were prepared to believe that in a lightning campaign Russia could be reduced to impotence, and that much territory, which would add to the economic self-sufficiency of the Reich,

ALLIED WAR COUNCIL MEETS

On September 22, 1939, the Allied Supreme War Council met in a committee room at Brighton Town Hall. Among those who attended were members of the British Cabinet, Mr. Daladier, the Premier of France, and General Gamelin, Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies. Here, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Premier, and Lord Halifax, Foreign Secretary, leave the building. (See also page 511.)

could be acquired. In spite of warnings, they under-estimated Russian military potentialities, and no doubt believed that mechanized warfare and industrial efficiency had gone far to eliminate the defensive advantages conferred by great spaces and numerical superiority, on which Russia had formerly relied.

Technically, the attack was well planned to give swift results. The main mistake which can be attributed to Hitler's General Staff was failure to make provision for a winter campaign in case the lightning attack failed to produce expected results. The amazing moral and physical fortitude displayed by the Russians in the face of unparalleled disasters decided the ultimate issue of the war.

Mr. Churchill's immediate acceptance of Russia as an ally, though it may have inspired hopes of early assistance which at the time Britain was in no position to give, may have been an important factor in strengthening Russia's will to resist. The possibility of a simultaneous attack by Japan, on the other hand, weakened Russia's position, although Hitler does not appear to have counted on it, and we now know that Japan was determined to play a lone part and to seize the opportunity to pursue her aggressive designs against Britain and America.

Germany's failure to achieve the expected lightning success involved her army, her main instrument of power, in an entanglement from which it could not break loose, and which brought a series of major disasters; it involved also a suspension of air attack on Britain and imposed an immensely increased strain on German industrial capacity which militated against the full development of the potentialities of her air power; had these been fully developed, it might well have rendered the development of Anglo-American offensive power impracticable.

Turning-point of the War

Von Brauchitsch's failure to take Moscow and Leningrad and the disaster experienced in the winter have been accepted as the decisive turning-point of the war. The Wehrmacht never fully recovered; but that did not deter Hitler from embarking on a fresh and even more dangerous offensive campaign in the summer of 1942. Its initial success was encouraging; but the Russians again evaded complete disaster, and their stubborn defence at Stalingrad and in the Caucasus, coupled with the increasing difficulty the Germans had in maintaining lengthened communications, brought the offensive to a standstill, and involved the Reichswehr in another winter campaign.

Nevertheless, the early autumn of 1942 was the darkest hour for the Allies. Stalingrad was in imminent danger; Rommel, having inflicted on the British in Egypt the heaviest defeat they suffered during the war in an encounter on approximately equal terms, was poised at the approaches to Alexandria; Singapore, Malaya and Burma had been lost and India was threatened. Although Japan's aggression had brought the

THEATRES OF OPERATIONS IN THE SECOND GREAT WAR

These are the nine operational areas into which the world was divided by the Combined Chiefs of Staff of Britain and the U.S.A. This body was set up after the first war conference of Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt (held at Washington in December 1941) to implement the decision then taken to pool the resources of Great Britain and the United States in their joint struggle against Germany, Italy and Japan. Places and dates of the periodical conferences of the Combined Chiefs (in a number of cases with their Chiefs of State) are also shown.

Based on the Biennial Report of the Chief-of-Staff of the U.S. Army to the Secretary of War, July 1, 1943–June 30, 1945.

U.S.A. into the war, American recovery from the effects of Pearl Harbor was far from complete. That Japan had suffered heavy naval and air losses in the Coral Sea and Midway Island battles and that the Japanese advance in New Guinea had been stopped by the Australians, leaving communications between the U.S.A. and Australia adequately protected, was the brightest side of the picture. Japanese failure to exploit the Pearl Harbor coup by occupying that vital naval base—which it is now admitted was well within her power if she had been prepared—left the key to the Pacific in American hands, and was a major factor in the rapid growth of America's offensive potentiality.

In the late autumn the crisis passed with the relief of Stalingrad and the battle of El Alamein. From then onwards, in every theatre the Allied counter-offensive began to develop with ever increasing momentum, in spite of occasional checks. Even in the Far East, although it had been wisely decided that Germany had to be defeated before Japan could be dealt with, the counter-offensive began to make progress.

The Russian exploitation of the Stalingrad victory in the subsequent winter campaign was the most striking feature of the Allied recovery, for it was generally held that no large up-to-date army could maintain the momentum of its offensive over any distance exceeding 100 miles under winter conditions. It is now known that the Russians successfully gambled on overcoming the difficulty of maintaining supplies by subsisting largely on those captured from the enemy. The patience with which the Russians had awaited their opportunity at Stalingrad, avoiding the temptation to attack prematurely in view of the desperate situation there, was sure proof of steady nerves; and the skill with which the counter-offensive developed in successive well timed and well directed blows gave equal proof of the high quality of Russian strategy.

Admittedly Russian victories were largely due to the readiness with which immense, almost reckless, sacrifice of life was accepted—to a degree that Britain with her limited manpower could not have afforded, and from which public opinion both in Britain and the U.S.A. would have recoiled. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that Russian war industries were quite incapable of raising the standard of armament in her huge armies to that which with the western powers led to economy of life, and it should be realized that the Western Allies benefited from Russian determination to succeed at any price. It is understandable that the Russians on their part, especially when the reopening of the western front appeared to hang fire, should have suspected that their allies were shrinking from accepting their full share of sacrifice. Russian lack of experience in the problems of amphibious warfare was an additional source of misunderstanding.

Exploitation of Alamein Victory

Exploitation of the Alamein victory was no less remarkable. It afforded proof, moreover, that the British Army could produce leaders of outstanding quality, and it was made practicable by the admirable administrative organization and the standard of co-operation between ground and air forces that had been established.

Up to this point the Allies, broadly speaking, had been conducting a defensive war, and the R.A.F., in particular in the ever memorable Battle of Britain, had taken its full share; but it had not as yet had much opportunity of developing its offensive potentialities. This was in part due to unavoidable dispersion of its still limited numerical strength on a great diversity of tasks and in part to some lack of appreciation as to how air

power could make its greatest contribution to the war effort. Air power up till then had taken its part in both land and sea operations, but rather by synchronized than integrated action. Moreover, although gallant, and to a degree effective, strategic bombing of enemy sources of power had been conducted, it was found later that results hardly came up to expectation. Attacks had not sufficient weight, and the technique of night bombing had not reached its full development, with the result that a high proportion of bombs dropped failed to find useful targets. The moral effect of attacks had been over-estimated, and the enemy's capacity to make good damage had hardly been realized.

From this time onwards, however, the R.A.F. and the American air forces took an increasing and essential share in the offensive phases of the war, becoming a decisive factor in achieving final victory. Whether Germany might have been brought to her knees by air action alone, as Mr. Churchill at one time suggested was a possibility worth trying, can never be proved, since it was undoubtedly the full development of co-operation between sea, air and land forces that achieved victory before Germany could, with her secret weapons, revolutionize warfare to possibly even a greater extent than had the advent of air power. General Eisenhower and Field-Marshal Montgomery were foremost in recognizing the immense contribution air power could make, and it was an outstanding factor in their strategic and tactical planning and in the conduct of their operations. In naval warfare co-operation developed into integration to an equally marked degree, first in the later stages of the Battle of the Atlantic and ultimately in bringing about the defeat of Japan.

The Anglo-American landing in North Africa induced a response which eventually involved the Germans in the major disaster of Tunis, the 8th Army contributing greatly to that result. But it has been argued that the landing in North Africa and the subsequent conquest of Sicily and invasion of Italy were faulty strategy, in that these operations diverted resources from preparations for the reopening of the western front, and because there was no possibility that a decisive attack on Germany could be opened from the south. It has been asserted that, as a consequence, the reopening of the western front was delayed, and that thereby the war was prolonged for a year. Nevertheless, the policy gave important results, and it is hard to see how at the time more assistance could have been rendered to Russia, or greater damage inflicted on the Axis.

Results of Mediterranean War Policy

Not the least important consequence of the Mediterranean enterprise was that it gave training and experience to American troops and threw much light on the problems of large scale amphibious operations. It must be remembered, too, that at the time, although the Russians had inflicted a great disaster on the German armies in the winter, it was not till well on in the summer of 1943 that they gave full proof of their offensive power under all conditions, beginning with the battle of the Kursk salient. Even then the Germans had great resources left, strong defences to fall back on and ample room to manoeuvre in retreat. They could undoubtedly, therefore, have produced very powerful forces to counter-attack any forces landed in the west; furthermore, not till 1943 did the air offensive against their war industries begin to become really effective, nor had their oil supplies, the loss of which was such an important factor in their ultimate defeat, been vitally affected.

The Italian campaign, weakened by the withdrawal of troops to the west, was in some respects disappointing, but nevertheless it had important diversionary effects; and the complete reopening of the Mediterranean route was an additional result secured by the southern offensive. These are positive reasons to set against the hypothetical results of complete concentration on the western offensive—an adventure in which, in any case, premature action could not have been risked.

Russian Gains in Summer of 1943

The Russian offensive which started in the Kursk salient was carried on without relaxation in a series of alternating blows till the following spring. It forced the Dnieper line, raised the siege of Leningrad, defeated Manstein's attempt to recover Kiev, and before it ended the whole of the Ukraine had been recovered and the German southern armies had been split in two and forced to retreat in divergent directions.

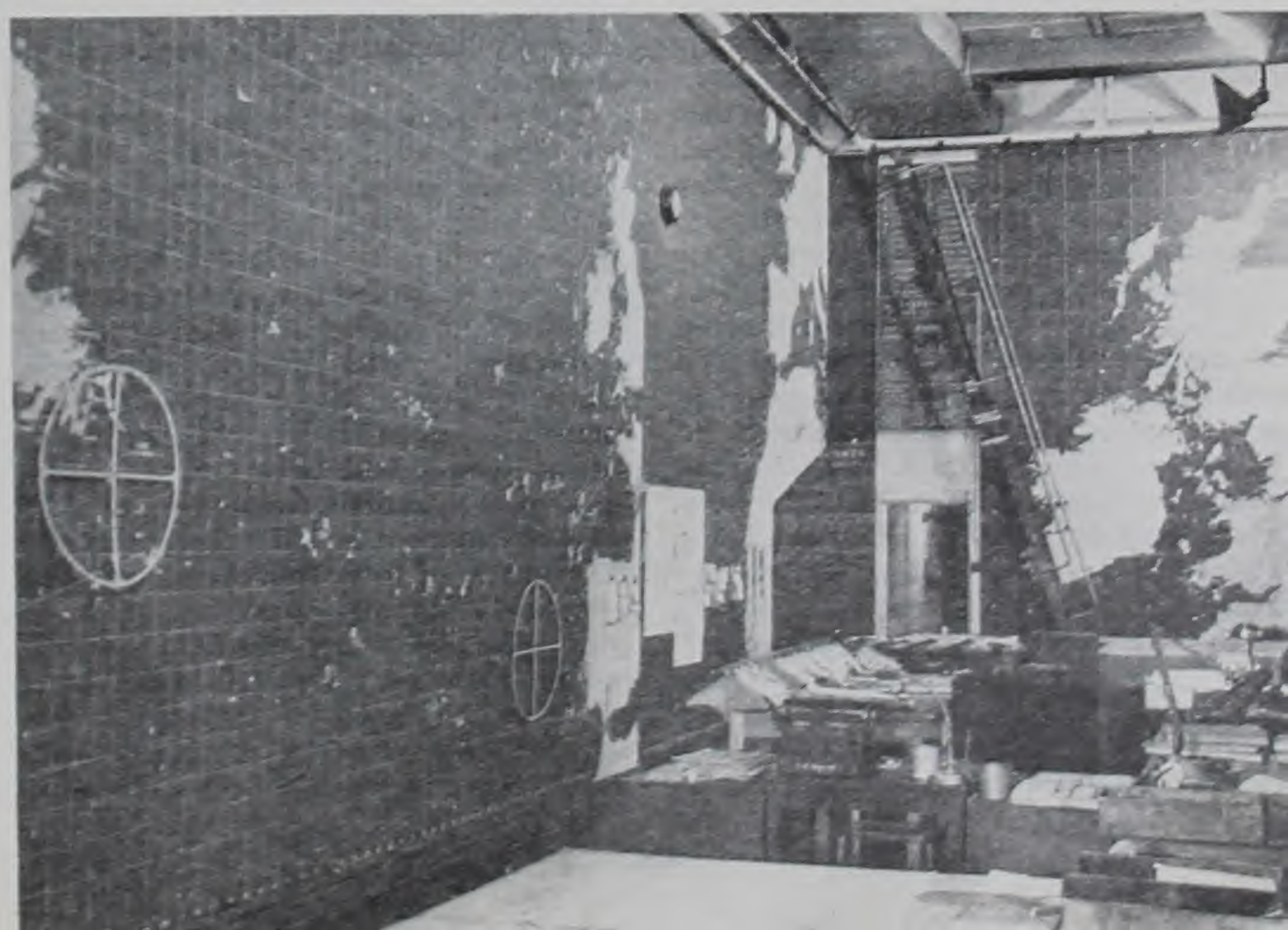
1944 saw the beginning of the final phase of the war in Europe, fully described in the Report by the Supreme Commander to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Operations in Europe of the Allied Expeditionary Force (H.M. Stationery Office, 2s. 6d.).

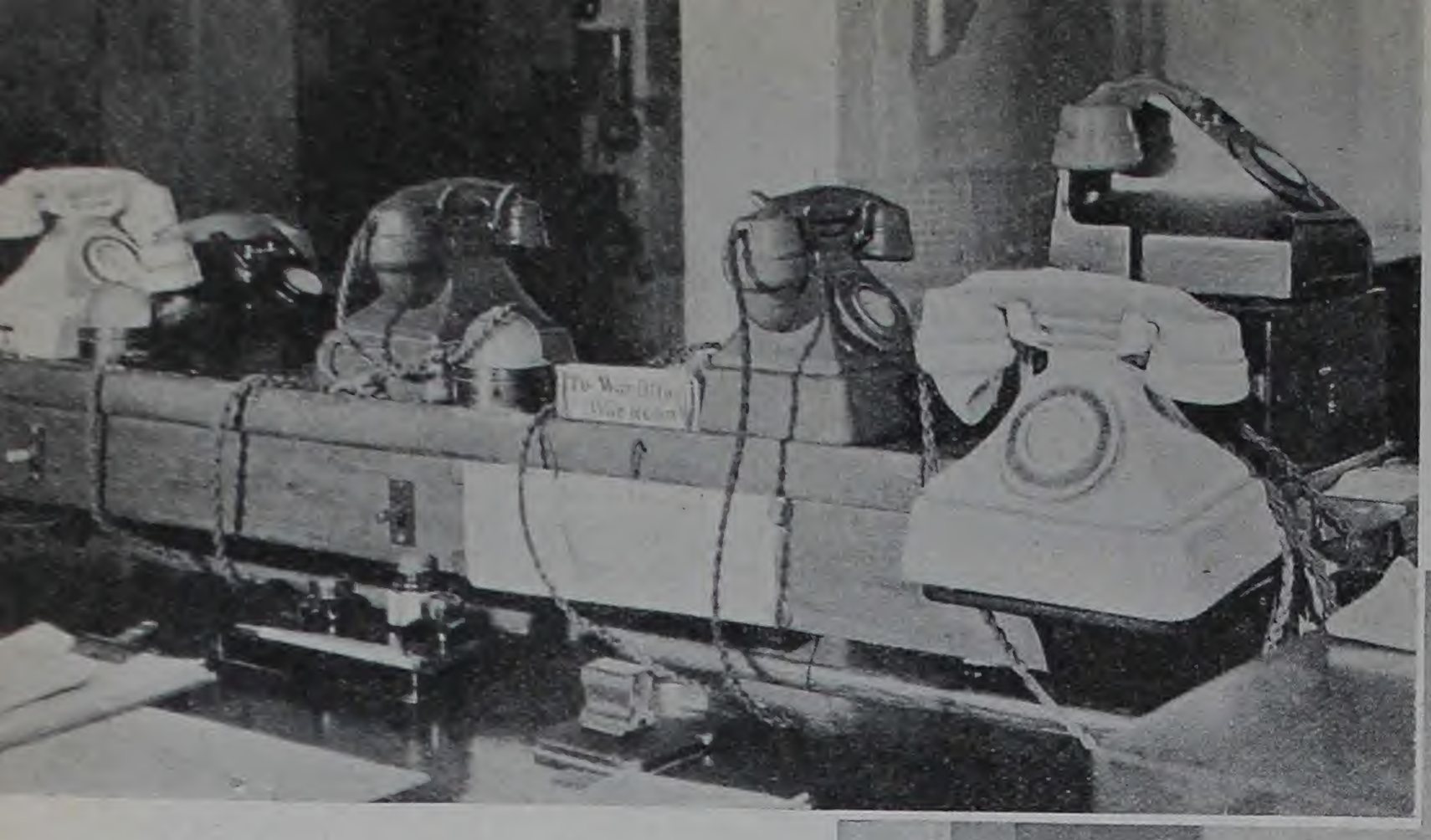
In April 1942 Great Britain and the United States decided that plans should be prepared for that great undertaking, and in August 1943 the broad outline of the plan was approved. The Cherbourg peninsula was selected as the point of landing, and May 1, 1944, given as the target date, that being the earliest when climatic conditions would be favourable by which preparations could be completed.

Intensification of the air offensive to secure air superiority and as a "softening" process was ordered in May 1943. In December of that year General Eisenhower was notified that he had been selected as supreme commander, and was given the detailed plans

'OPS' ROOM, WESTERN APPROACHES

In the basement of Derby House, Liverpool (Admiralty H.Q., Western Approaches) was situated throughout the war the nerve centre of the Battle of the Atlantic. Below, the 'Ops' Room, showing the main plot stretching the whole length of the left-hand wall; the disks indicated restricted bombing areas for aircraft of approximately 150 miles radius in those sectors where submarines of the Allied navies were under passage. *Admiralty photograph*





CABINET'S SECRET H.Q.

This battery of secret direct-line telephones connected the British Cabinet's underground H.Q. in Whitehall (see also page 3899) with the War Rooms at the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry throughout the war. Right, the fireproof safe—also in this Cabinet wartime nerve-centre—in which secret documents were stored for safety. The maps were used at Yalta and Teheran.

Photos, 'Illustrated'

would be made on the Pas de Calais coast. Although Rommel received reinforcements from every other available source, none were drawn from the 15th Army north of the Seine until too late. The Germans also failed completely to foresee the construction of the Mulberry harbour and were convinced that so long as the Allies were denied the use of ports they would be unable to support their armies.

prepared by the staff, though he did not assume command until February. In consultation with General Montgomery, nominated as tactical commander of the early land battles, he insisted on changes in the staff plan which extended the front of assault and raised the strength of the initial landing force from three to five divisions. This entailed the provision of extra landing craft, and the consequent postponement of the landing by a month. It also involved the postponement of the subsidiary landing in southern France (originally intended to be simultaneous with that in Normandy), first to July 10 and later to August 15, when it actually took place.

Post-Invasion Plans

It was from the first envisaged that after the landing had been effected, and a bridge-head secured (including the port of Cherbourg) that would give room for deployment of sufficient forces, an attempt would be made to break out to the south in order to capture ports in Brittany to which reinforcements and supplies could be shipped direct from America. That would be followed by an advance eastward towards Paris which might bring about a decisive battle between the Loire and the Seine. In the early stages of the invasion it was intended to capture Caen and thus cause the Germans to concentrate in the north for the defence of the Seine crossings and to cover the direct route towards Paris, thereby facilitating the break-out to the south.

These plans worked out much as designed, though with some delays, partly due to bad weather and partly to the failure to effect the early capture of Caen, which the Germans held with stubbornness as the key to their attempt to seal off the peninsula. This, however, eventually played into Eisenhower's hands, for the enemy expended his strength in resisting Montgomery's persistent attacks and weakened his southern flank. German misappreciation of the problems confronting them was the main cause of their failure to repel the invasion. Rommel, convinced that his coast defences were impregnable, had not provided for defence in depth and, still more important, the German General Staff was obsessed with the belief that the Allied main attempt

The great drive of Lieutenant-General Patton's U.S. 3rd Army (formed on August 1 from four Corps formerly part of the U.S. 1st Army) from Avranches, rapidly cleared the Brittany peninsula, as had been planned, although Brest was stubbornly defended and was so wrecked as to be of small value when finally captured. But Patton, meeting little resistance, also drove eastwards, thus anticipating Eisenhower's programme. The German counter-attack which aimed at cutting his communications at Avranches was not unexpected and was held; and, being rashly persisted in, led to the development of the fatal Falaise pocket. Too late the Germans drew reinforcements from their 15th Army: these were only added to the bag.

A substantial part of the German armour escaped from the pocket, though

with the loss of much equipment; but the decisive battle between the Loire and the Seine had been fought. Between the rivers, the German 7th Army had been destroyed; south of the Loire, the German 19th Army was cut off and, weakened, was dealt with by the armies landed in the south and by the Maquis. North of the Seine, the German 15th Army, weakened and disorganized, was in no condition to hold the river line or to prevent the further development of Eisenhower's plans.

Adhering to the conception he had originally formed, Eisenhower decided to advance on a broad front through France with his weight on the left, in order to turn the Siegfried line in the north, and to secure a bridge-head across the Maas and Lower Rhine prior to seeking out the enemy in the plains of north Germany and isolating the Ruhr.

Plan for Advance into France

Owing to the rapidity of developments, two parts of his original programme had been dropped. The capture of the Brittany ports, now of little significance, was not necessary, and St. Nazaire and Lorient, strongly garrisoned by the enemy, were left to the Maquis to invest. General Patton's rapid thrust eastwards had also rendered it unnecessary to use the airborne army in advance of the original break-out. On the other hand, the rapidity of developments had increased the strain on the Normandy base.

In pursuance of the general plan, during the first half of September Montgomery's 21st Army Group with Lieutenant-General Hodges's U.S. 1st Army swept north-eastwards, the former capturing Antwerp and crossing the Leopold canal before a pause became inevitable in face of increasing resistance and supply difficulties. The latter crossed the Meuse, captured Liége and closed up to the Siegfried Line in the Aachen area. Farther south Patton, thrusting towards Metz, crossed the Meuse and secured bridge-heads on the Moselle, but was also compelled to pause in face of resistance in highly defensible country and supply difficulties.

At this stage with limited port facilities and with road and railway communications heavily damaged by demolitions and Allied bombing, maintenance of supplies was the governing factor. But, still intent on securing a bridge-head across the Lower Rhine before the enemy could recover, Eisenhower approved the project of using his hitherto uncommitted airborne army for the purpose. This airborne operation, although it achieved results of great value, failed in its main object—the establishment of a bridge-head beyond the Rhine. The clearance of the Scheldt estuary was then undertaken, but not till the end of November did Antwerp become available as a supply port—an essential preliminary to a resumption of the general offensive.

General Eisenhower has been criticized for over-dispersion of his forces by advancing on a broad front, and it has been claimed that a greater measure of concentration, in particular in support of Patton in the Metz region, would have led to a decisive rupture of the Siegfried line and an earlier final decision, or, alternatively, that all transport resources might have been from the first placed at the disposal of the northern thrust.

These are hypothetical claims which cannot be proved, and it seems probable that a greater measure of concentration might, in view of the condition of roads and railways and constant lengthening of distance from the Normandy base, have only increased supply difficulties. Very large forces and immense quantities of material would almost certainly have been required to enable Patton to break through the Siegfried line, and, even if a break-through had been effected, it would have been difficult for the Allied forces to maintain sufficient momentum to prevent the enemy's orderly withdrawal behind the Rhine. Furthermore, failure to engage the enemy on a broad front might have offered him opportunities to concentrate for a disturbing counter-stroke.

Although his advance had been brought to a halt, Eisenhower was determined not to allow static conditions to develop. As soon as the Antwerp base was available, he prepared to launch a major offensive designed to secure control of the whole of the west bank of the Rhine. It was hoped and believed that the enemy would accept battle west of the Rhine, and that with his defeat there the very considerable problem of crossing that great obstacle would be eased.

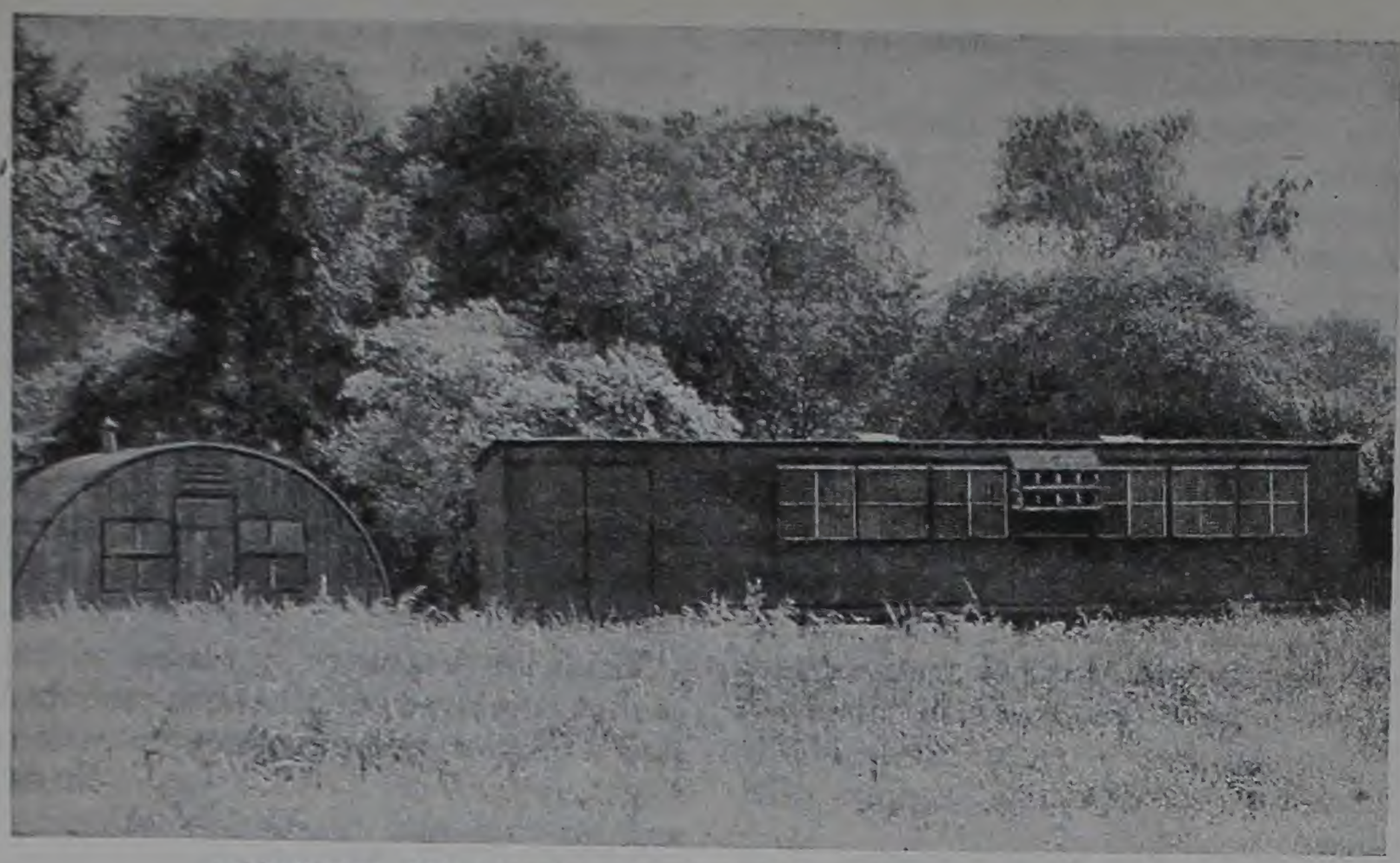
Problem of Rhine Crossing

While preparations for the offensive, including preliminary attacks to secure crossings over the Roer River and to gain ground on other parts of the front, were in progress, Rundstedt's Ardennes counter-offensive threw the Allies temporarily on the defensive. The risk of holding this sector of the front lightly had been deliberately taken, to secure greater concentrations for the offensive, and for a few days an admittedly dangerous situation existed. It was, however, quickly restored, and although the Allied offensive had been delayed by over six weeks the enemy was left greatly weakened by his losses, as well as by his transfer of his main armoured reserves to the eastern front.

PLANNING THE OPERATIONS IN ITALY

As C.-in-C., Allied Forces, Italy, General Sir Harold Alexander confers with staff officers at his H.Q. in Italy in March 1944. Standing, left to right, Brigadier-General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Deputy Chief of Staff; Lt.-General A. F. Harding, Chief of Staff; Major-General John K. Cannon, commanding Mediterranean Allied Tactical Air Force and U.S. 12th A.A.F.; and Major-General Sir Brian H. Robertson, chief of administration and supply.

Photo, United States Information Service



LONDON HEADQUARTERS OF THE 'PHANTOMS'

These innocent-looking pigeon-lofts behind the Guards Memorial in St. James's Park, London, concealed a close-kept British war secret throughout hostilities. They were the headquarters of the 'Phantoms,' known officially as G.H.Q. Liaison Regiment. Task of this highly secret force—personnel of which were dropped behind the enemy lines—was to keep Army, Army Group and Base H.Q. informed, almost minute by minute, of changes in the battle-front situation. Their equipment included specially constructed miniature wireless sets which, besides transmitting messages in code, 'scrambled' them to the extent of unintelligibility complete to all save those at headquarters.

Photo, Keystone

The objective of the first phase of the offensive was to capture the ground between the Maas and the Rhine, and thus secure a "line-up" on the latter north of Düsseldorf, in the area where it was proposed the main crossing should take place. Montgomery, whose 21st Army Group still included the U.S. 9th Army, transferred to his command during the Ardennes counter-offensive, was in charge. On the right of the 9th Army General Hodges's U.S. 1st Army was to advance towards Cologne. Farther south, Patton's 3rd Army, which had been drawn into the Ardennes battle, was to fight forward through the Siegfried line and the Eifel region in order in the second phase to join up with the 1st Army on the Rhine north of the Moselle. In the third phase the U.S. 7th Army was to attack the Saar position from the west while Patton struck southwards across the Moselle. Farther south still the French and Americans had already reached the Rhine down to the Swiss frontier.

Objectives of Rhine Crossing

This programme was carried through almost exactly as designed: not only was the line-up on the Rhine established, but disastrous defeats were inflicted on the enemy, and bridge-heads had unexpectedly been secured across the Rhine at Remagen and south of the Moselle.

In planning to reach the Rhine on a broad front before attempting the main crossing, Eisenhower had aimed at forcing the enemy to disperse his reserves. He was now in an unexpectedly favourable position, and instead of concentrating on his northern drive and carrying out subsidiary operations in his centre and south, he decided to make his principal attack in the centre, with a view to the double envelopment of the Ruhr. This involved the exploitation of the Remagen bridgehead, while at the same time carrying out the deliberately planned crossing in the north.

His plans as thus modified were supremely successful, and with the occupation of the Ruhr and the surrender of the large force within it he had virtually achieved all his original intentions. There remained to be effected, of course, the occupation of much territory, the elimination of other German forces, and junction with the Russians, but deprived of the Ruhr the enemy could not offer any prolonged or co-ordinated resistance.

The amazingly successful landing in Normandy and victory in Italy completed the strategic envelopment of Germany on land. German generals have admitted that with their failure to seal off the Cherbourg peninsula they realized the war was lost. Their sole hope was to get rid of Hitler and make peace with the western Allies, leaving them free to concentrate on staving off the dreaded Russian invasion which, after the disastrous defeat they had suffered in White Russia and the general resumption of the Russian offensive, had become the most imminent danger. By then they had fully recognized that Hitler's gambling spirit and obstinacy in refusing to contract his commitments had been the chief cause of the desperate situation they were in, but, with the failure of the plot to get rid of him, they seemed to have lost either the courage or the ability to take independent action. Hitler alone, with his faith in secret weapons and in his star, apparently still believed victory might be won, and, failing victory, was determined that Europe should not survive his downfall.

The unrelenting pressure the Allies were by now able to exercise from all directions and their air superiority made the end only a matter of time, but the wounded beast dies hard. The residual power of resistance shown by the Germans on both eastern and western fronts in the autumn and the difficulties the Allies had to overcome in maintaining adequate lines of communication make it improbable that by some different course of action in the West decisive result could have been achieved earlier.

The End only a Matter of Time

Hitler's extravagant sacrifice of his last reserves, which against all advice he expended in Rundstedt's Ardennes offensive, failed to upset General Eisenhower's plans materially, and probably accelerated the end.

In practice the co-ordination of the final Allied offensive in the east, south and west proved to be admirable. That co-ordination, however, would seem to have resulted less from supreme central direction than from the strategic intuition of the commanders on each of the fronts—for General Eisenhower admits that he was unaware that the Russian Vistula offensive was imminent or of its scale until a few days before his own final offensive was launched, and that he had in fact suspected that the Russian offensive had attained its limit the previous autumn when it reached but could not pass the Vistula.

Once Rundstedt's offensive had been thrown back and Zhukov had reached the Oder the end could not have been long delayed; but it was accelerated by the orders Hitler issued. His generals had no option but to obey and to fight under the dictates of professional honour rather than those of strategy. Compelled to fight west of the Rhine, they were so decisively defeated that it was impracticable to reorganize for effective defence of that river line. Failure to hold the line of the Oder completed the debacle; and Hitler's decision to fight it out at Berlin rendered abortive the plans that had been tentatively considered for prolonging the struggle in the southern

redoubt, even if the Russian thrust into Austria and the advance of the Allied armies in Italy had not rendered the scheme impracticable.

Taking the war as a whole there can be little doubt that Hitler's strategical blunders were the prime cause of German defeat, but unity of purpose established between the Allies, and the tenacity, skill and courage with which their strategical plans were pursued by their three great leaders, was well calculated to lead Hitler into errors and to take full advantage of those he made. Without Russia, complete victory could hardly have been achieved; but it was American resources and the appearance of millions of fresh American troops in the final phases of the war that ensured decisive results. Throughout, the forces of the British Empire in all three elements played an outstanding part; but the Empire's greatest contribution to final victory was its retention of bases and control of communications, without which America could not have brought her potential strength into action.

Importance of British Sea Power

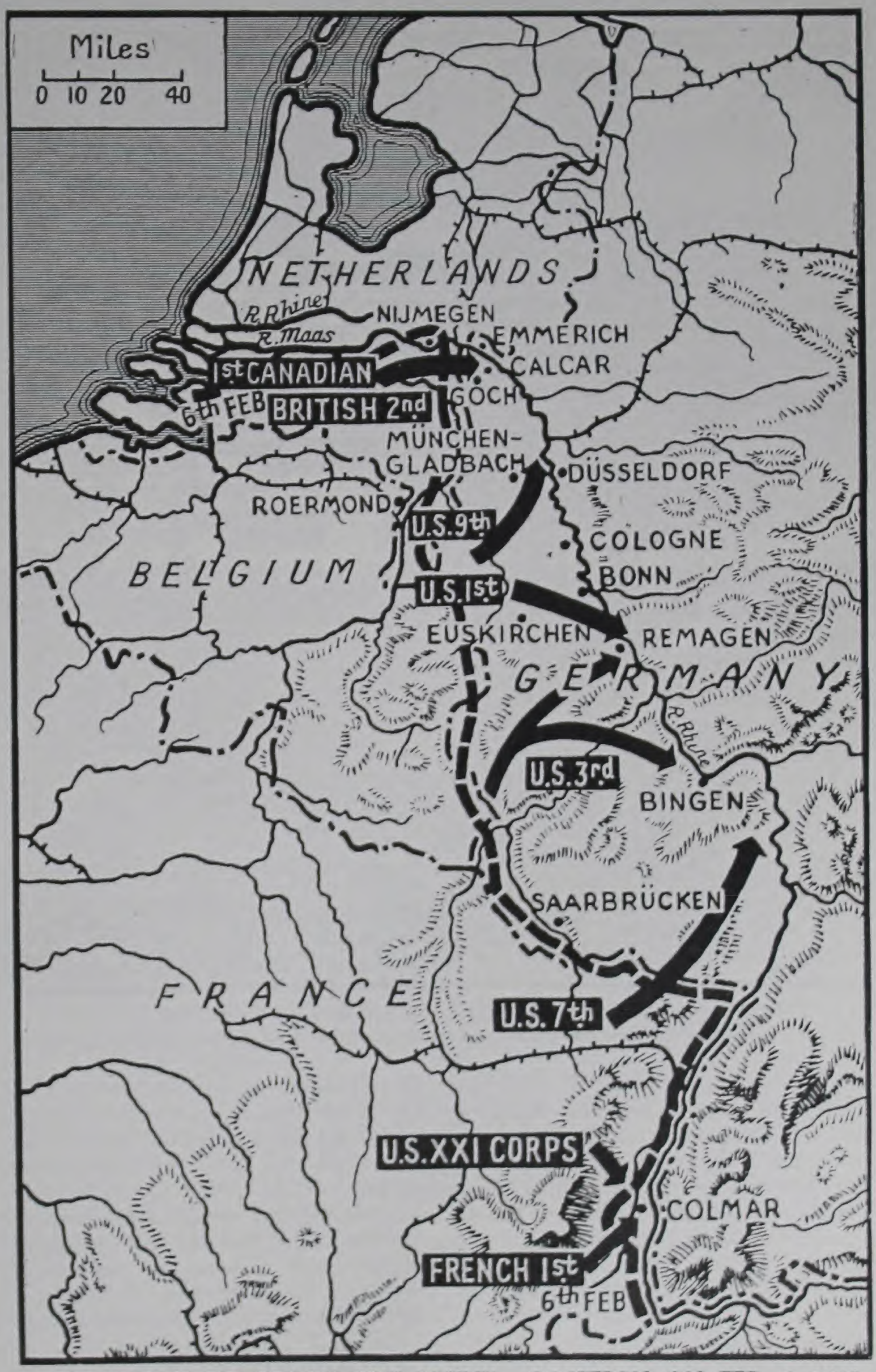
The Royal Navy and British sea power in all its forms made the main contribution to these results. In combating a *guerre de course* carried out by enemy U-boats, surface raiders, and aircraft, there can, however, be no Trafalgars and it becomes difficult to say where and when decisive effects were achieved. Sea power permeated the whole structure of the British Empire war effort. It was the foundation on which it was built, it was the cement that held it together. It guaranteed the arrival of food and raw materials, without which the nation could not have survived for long nor armed its forces; and it alone made possible the transport of those forces to the theatres in which they were required to operate.

Up till the defeat of France, the Royal Navy, with the co-operation of the French Navy, had no great difficulty in carrying out its tasks, despite the reduction of its strength between the wars. But with the loss of French assistance and with the entry of Italy into the war immense and unceasing exertions were demanded from it to the limits of endurance. The Battle of the Atlantic, which had started with the outbreak of war, then became a battle of life or death waged with fluctuating fortune until the surrender of Germany. Fortunately, the Italian Navy never developed its potentialities and allowed itself to be intimidated by Admiral Sir Andrew B. Cunningham's bold offensive policy, nor had the German Navy yet acquired sufficient strength to exploit its opportunity.

But with the outbreak of war in the Pacific and the intensification of operations in the Middle East, further dispersion of naval power became necessary, just at the time the German Navy was becoming most formidable and developing new U-boat tactics and devices. In 1942 and 1943 the Battle of the Atlantic therefore reached its most critical stage, and for a time the entry of America into the war increased rather than diminished the Navy's responsibilities. Not until the U.S.A. was in a position to take a more effective share in the Battle of the Atlantic and until the integration of sea-air power had taken effect, did the battle take a decisively favourable turn.

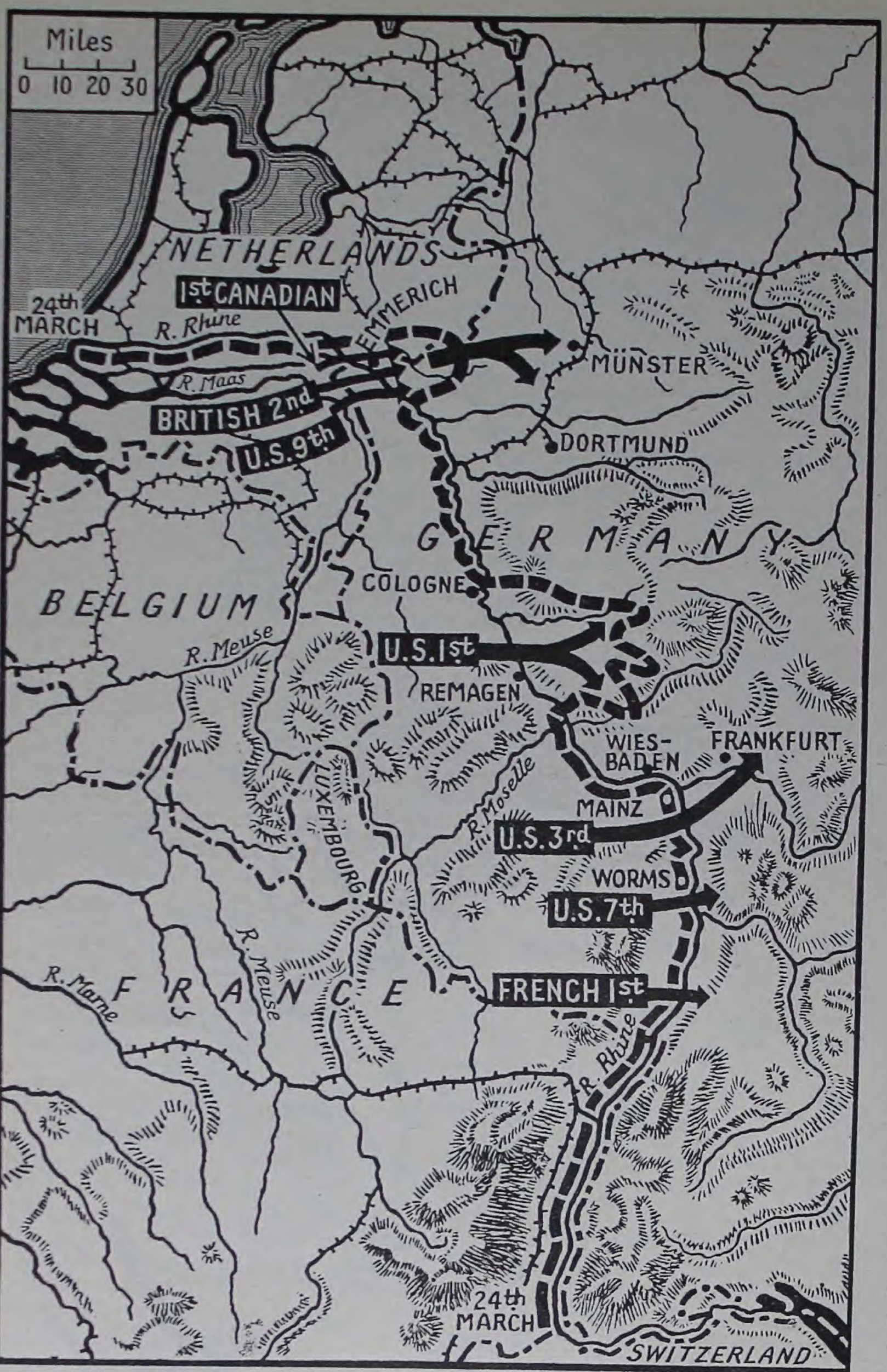
The Navy's part in amphibious operations also was fundamental.

In Eastern Waters, with limited resources due in part to heavy initial losses, the Navy had a no less exacting task. In the final stages of the



OPERATIONS TO REACH THE RHINE: POSITION ON FEB. 6, 1945

From the Report of the Supreme Commander to the Combined Chiefs of Staff: June 6, 1944–May 8, 1945



THE ALLIES CROSS THE RHINE: POSITION ON MARCH 24, 1945

From the Report of the Supreme Commander to the Combined Chiefs of Staff: June 6, 1944–May 8, 1945

war in the Pacific, though it could not equal the huge American effort, it provided substantial reinforcement.

Up to 1943 Allied strategy in the Far East was essentially defensive, its objects being to halt further Japanese aggression, safeguard communications between America and Australia, and keep China in the war in order to provide a base for an ultimate air offensive against Japan itself. This strategy involved offensive operations in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, the development of air transport to China, and the initiation of a project to link up that part of the Burma road still in Chinese hands with the Assam railway, this last involving the recovery of control of northern Burma. Complete reconquest of Burma was considered impracticable, since the nature of communications through the terrain of the northern frontier prohibited large scale land operations, and shipping could not be made available for an amphibious attack on southern Burma to secure the port of Rangoon. During 1943, the north Burma operations started. Early in 1944, however, the Japanese offensive, which had the ambitious object of invading India and cutting the Assam railway, threw the Allies on the defensive again. The defence held, and the Japanese invading army was destroyed by a counter-offensive marvellously maintained during the monsoon season. The dry season campaign of 1945, which completed the reconquest of Burma, followed. It was made possible only by the use of air transport on an unprecedented scale.

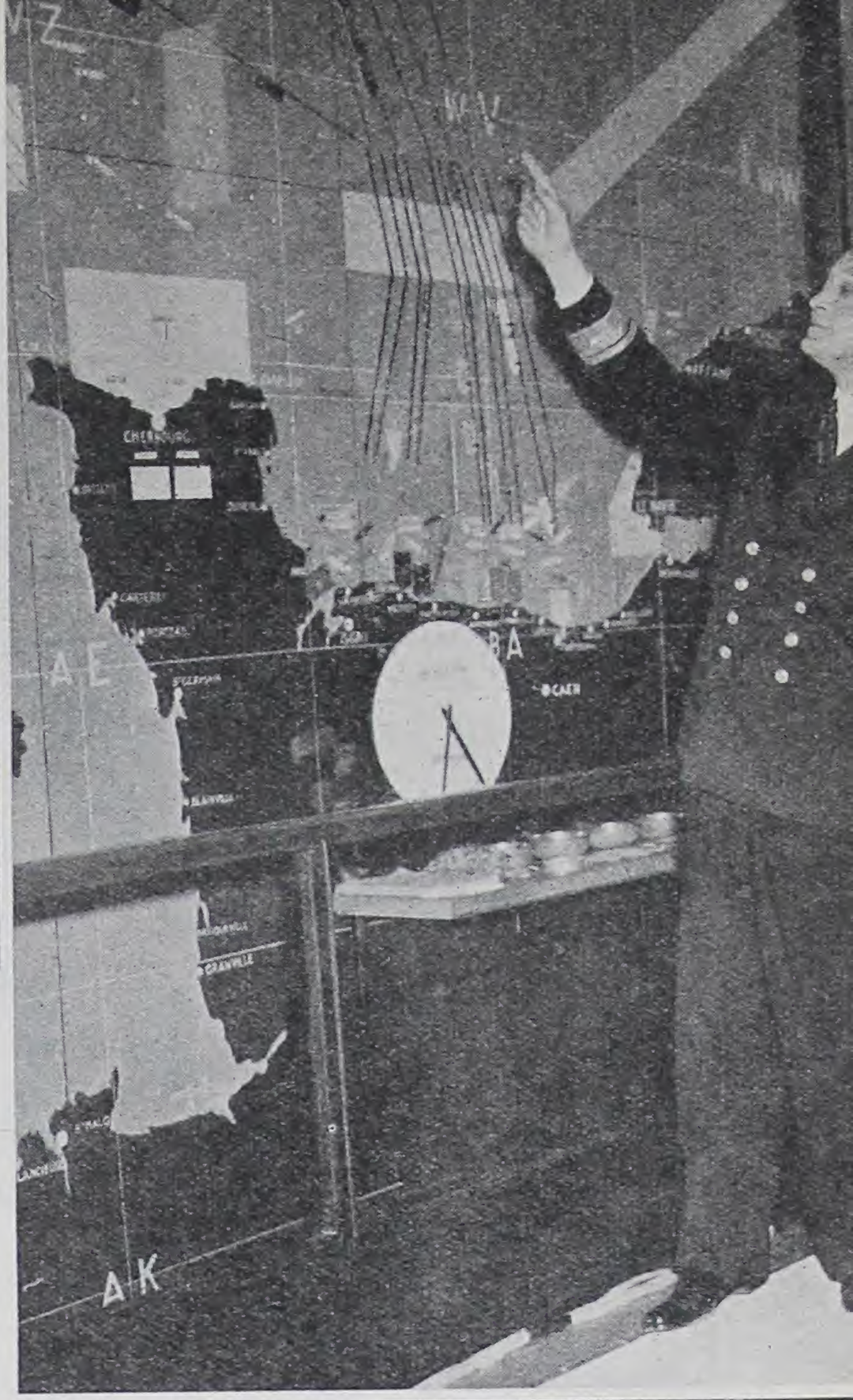
Decisive Theatre in the Far East

The liberation of Burma made it possible to employ American-trained Chinese troops to assist China in resisting and defeating a formidable Japanese attack in the spring of 1945, though not before the Japanese had captured the most important air bases from which attacks on Japan might have developed. As a contribution to the final defeat of Japan the reconquest of Burma had therefore lost some of its strategic importance, and the Pacific increasingly became the decisive theatre.

From the first it had been evident that the issue of the war would turn on the control of sea communications, but the problem remained how the Allies were to gain that control in the China Sea and the home waters of Japan, where her navy could, under the protection of shore-based aircraft, await the Allied Fleets operating at immense distances from their main bases. To meet this problem, amphibious operations were planned to secure advanced bases, and the U.S.A. developed to an unprecedented extent the potentialities of sea-air warfare in order to make long-range amphibious operations practicable. Air power had to be employed in a co-operative role and as a long range naval weapon before it could be used as a strategic instrument.

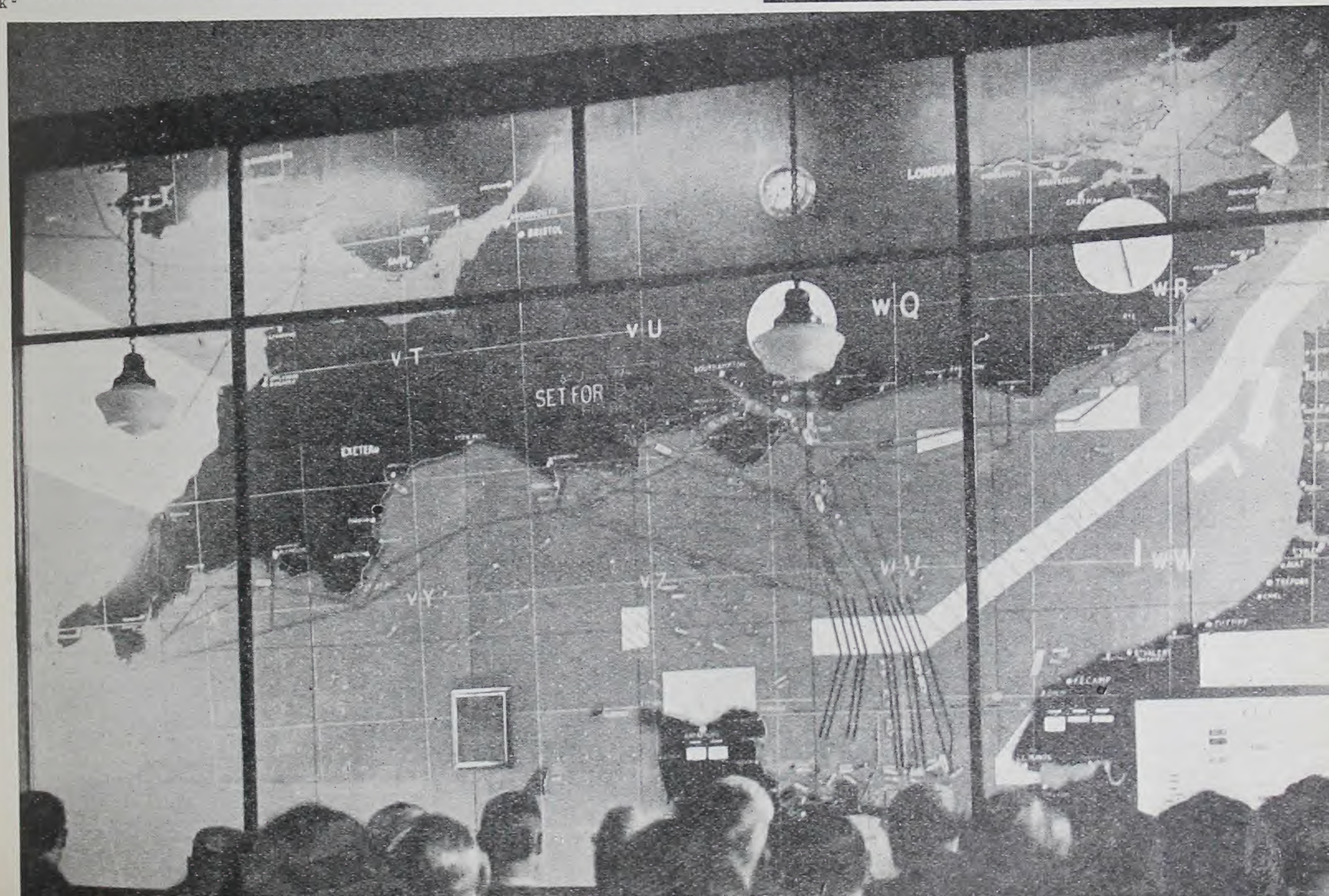
Offensive Operations Stepped Up

In May 1943 it was decided that offensive operations against Japan should be stepped up, and in August the form they should take was laid down. General MacArthur was directed to continue to extend his operations along the New Guinea coast, with the object of reaching the Philippines by the autumn of 1944. Admiral Nimitz was to secure successively bases in the Gilbert, Marshall and Mariana Islands with a view to securing lodgements in the Ryukyu and Bonin groups which guard Japan's home waters. It was hoped and expected that in the course



PLANNING THE RECONQUEST OF EUROPE

By August 1943 the broad outline of the Anglo-U.S. plan for the invasion of Europe was approved, and the preliminary air offensive had begun. Here, Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh Mallory, C.-in-C., Allied Expeditionary Air Force, outlines plans for the paralysis of the German war machine to Allied air chiefs in March 1944. Left to right, Air Marshal R. M. Hill, A.O.C., Air Defence of Great Britain ; Major-General William C. Butler, Deputy C.-in-C., A.E.A.F. ; Air Chief Marshal Leigh Mallory ; Air Vice-Marshal H. Wigglesworth ; Brigadier-General Aubrey C. Strickland ; seated in foreground, Major-General L. H. Brereton, Commanding General, U.S.A. 9th A.F. ; and (extreme right) Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham, A.O.C., 2nd Tactica! Air Force. Right, Rear-Admiral G. E. Creasy unveils on August 7, 1946, in H.M.S. 'Dryad' (Southwick Park, Fareham, Hants) a commemorative plaque and the wall-map (below) on which Allied leaders watched progress during the Normandy landings on June 6, 1944.



of these amphibious operations the Japanese Fleet might be met and decisively defeated. Both for the support of amphibious operations and to take part in naval engagements provision of carrier-borne aircraft in unprecedented numbers was essential, although as successive bases were secured shore-based aircraft could also take part.

These plans worked out very much as designed, although Japanese detachments resisted amphibious landings of a crushing strength with fanatical courage. By the end of July 1944 MacArthur's American-Australian forces were in control of the whole of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, and by the same date Admiral Nimitz had reached the Marianas, from which Super-Fortress heavy bombers began the strategic bombing of the Japanese homeland by the end of November.

In October MacArthur, with the co-operation of part of Admiral Nimitz's force, landed on Leyte Island in the Philippines, and the Japanese Fleet, in its attempts to retrieve the situation, met with overwhelming disaster in a sea-air battle, the most decisive naval encounter of the war. In January, by a skilful and bold by-passing manoeuvre, MacArthur landed in the main island of Luzon north of Manila, and by early March the remains of the Japanese garrison holding out in the less accessible parts of the Philippines were reduced to strategic insignificance. Henceforth Japanese sea communications with the East Indies, Malaya and Burma were almost completely interrupted, while the Philippines provided a place of assembly for the army designed to invade Japan proper.

Philippines as Invasion Base

By this time Super-Fortresses were operating in ever increasing scale from the Marianas ; but it became necessary in February to secure Iwo Jima in the Bonin group, because Japanese aircraft operating from it were intercepting the Super-Fortresses in passage. Its capture enabled the Super-Fortresses to be given fighter escort and provided a landing ground for damaged aircraft on their return flight. There remained, however, the Ryukyus to be taken in order to gain full command of the Formosa Strait and the southern islands of Japan. At the end of March the operation began, but not till June 21 did organized resistance in Okinawa cease, the Japanese in the struggle having lost virtually all the remnants of their navy and a large proportion of their aircraft.

With the European war ended, the air offensive in the East was soon stepped up still further and reached a devastating intensity. Tokyo and other towns were reduced to ruins, while naval forces closed in to bombard ports and coast defences.

Experienced Troops Arrive from Europe

War experienced troops also began to arrive in great numbers from Europe for the army of invasion. The Japanese Emperor, unlike Hitler, had already decided that it was useless to continue the struggle ; it was the military caste in Japan that remained to be convinced of its hopelessness. The use of the atomic bomb in order to save lives that invasion would cost, followed immediately by the Russian declaration of war and invasion of Manchuria, sufficed, however, to bring conviction, and the war ended on August 14, three and a half months after Hitler's death. As in Germany, no fanatical elements of resistance were encountered after the official surrender, and the chief problem that remained was the collection and repatriation of the widely dispersed Japanese army.

ALLIED ADVANCE INTO GERMANY AND ENVELOPMENT OF RUHR

From the Report of the Supreme Commander to the Combined Chiefs of Staff : June 6, 1944–May 8, 1945

Diary of the War

DECEMBER 1945

December 1. Seventy-six leaders of the Ruhr steel industry arrested by order of Allied Military Government.

December 2. Arab League Council decided to boycott goods manufactured by Jews in Palestine. Polling took place in Albanian elections.

December 3. Britain proposed reduction of all occupying forces in Austria. U.S. State Department announced that Russia had rejected the proposal to withdraw from Persia by January 1, 1946.

December 4. Mr. Sjahrir repeated his Government's readiness to submit Indonesian problem to United Nations Council. Sir Hartley Shawcross opened the British case at the Nuremberg trial. U.S. Senate approved Bill to commit U.S. armed forces to use by Security Council of United Nations.

December 5. General Christison and Dr. van Mook flew to Singapore to confer with Lord Alanbrooke and Lord Louis Mountbatten on military policy in the Netherlands East Indies.

December 6. Arab League replied to Mr. Bevin's Palestine statement. Mr. Attlee announced in the Commons the conclusion of the financial agreement with the United States.

December 7. Announced that the Foreign Ministers of Britain, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. would meet in Moscow on December 15. General Yamashita sentenced to death as a war criminal in Manila. Bretton Woods Agreement Bill introduced in House of Commons.

December 8. Announced that Allied commander in Java had been fully empowered to restore law and order where necessary. French Foreign Minister informed Britain and America that France would not be bound by any decisions made at a conference to which she was not a party.

December 9. Supreme Allied H.Q. in Tokyo ordered Japanese Government to end the feudal system of land tenure. Mr. de Gasperi formed new Italian Government with representatives of all six former Government parties. Ferenc Szalasi sentenced to death by Budapest People's Court. Three main Austrian parties agreed on the composition of new administration.

December 10. At Calcutta, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, appealed for goodwill from all leaders ; after interview with the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi made similar appeal. In House of Commons, Mr. Bevin announced the composition of the Anglo-U.S. Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. Persia appealed to Britain, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to withdraw troops.

December 11. Mr. Sjahrir declared that Indonesians would resist all British attempts at the forcible restoration of law and order. Arab Higher Committee expressed objection to setting up of the Anglo-U.S. Committee of inquiry on Palestine.

December 12. Allied Commission announced that all Italian territory under Allied Military Government (except areas in dispute) would be restored to Italy about December 31. Announced that Britain's Home Guard would be disbanded on the last day of the year.

December 13. Announced that an agreement had been signed between France and the United Kingdom on joint withdrawal of French and British troops from the Levant. Persian Foreign Minister presented Notes to British, U.S. and U.S.S.R. ambassadors in Teheran demanding the immediate evacuation of their forces. In the House of Commons, the Government motion approving the U.S. Loan was passed by 345 votes to 98 ; Bretton Woods Agreement Bill passed by 314 votes to 50.

December 14. It was announced that the French Government had sent Notes to Britain and the United States requesting an exchange of views on the Franco regime in Spain.

December 15. Making a statement on U.S. policy towards China, President Truman appealed to Communists to disband their army and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to broaden the basis of his Government. Preparatory Commission of the United Nations organization decided that the headquarters of the organization should be in the United States.

December 16. Announced that Tabriz, capital of Persian Azerbaijan, had surrendered to the insurgents ; " Democrat " party in Azerbaijan elected premier and formed " Cabinet." Former Japanese Prime Minister, Prince Konoye, committed suicide. Conference of the Foreign Secretaries of Britain, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. opened in Moscow.

December 17. Lord Keynes arrived in London from Washington ; spoke in House of Lords debate on the U.S. Loan. In the Canadian House of Commons, Mr. Mackenzie King spoke on the Washington atomic bomb talks.

December 18. Persian Premier declared he would not recognize the Democrat Party's " Government " in Azerbaijan. The House of Lords passed the U.S. Loan Bill by 90 votes to 8.

December 19. It was announced that the British occupation authorities in Germany would control all the coal and heavy industries in the Ruhr as from December 22. The U.S. Government formally accepted the joint responsibility, with Britain, for rescuing interned civilians and disarming the Japanese in Java. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes saw Mr. Stalin. New Austrian Parliament held its first session ; Dr. Renner called for the return of S. Tyrol.

December 20. Soviet Republic of Georgia claimed districts in the Caucasus and Black Sea areas belonging to Turkey. Dr. Renner unanimously elected President of the Austrian Republic by the Austrian National Assembly. Text of British Coal Industry Nationalization Bill published.

December 21. In the Turkish National Assembly, General Karahekir declared that Turkey must fight if the Soviet claims to the Caucasus and Black Sea areas were pressed. Dr. Figl in his first speech to the new Austrian Parliament called for the immediate return of S. Tyrol. General Patton died in Germany from injuries received in motor accident. Egyptian Ambassador in London presented Note requesting revision of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

December 22. Britain and the U.S. recognized the Yugoslav Republic, Britain on condition that Yugoslav international obligations and the rights of British subjects in Yugoslavia were not affected. It was officially stated that the Austrian claim did not involve Trentino.

December 23. In London, the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations organization completed its task. In Moscow, Mr. Stalin received Mr. Byrnes, U.S. Foreign Minister.

December 24. Insurgents converged on Mehabad, strategic point in Azerbaijan. Announced in Canada that all tire-rationing would end there on January 1.

December 25. Broadcast by H.M. the King. General Sir William Slim, former C.-in-C., 14th Army, arrived at Liverpool on board troopship " Georgic " with 5,000 members of the Army and R.A.F. from the Far East.

December 26. The British and U.S. Governments accepted the French suggestion for an exchange of views on the Franco regime in Spain. The French Assembly unanimously approved the Bretton Woods Agreement and the U.S. Export-Import Bank loan ; devaluation of the franc announced at 480 to the pound sterling. Some 250 Jewish immigrants landed illegally in Palestine. Death of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Keyes.

December 27. Mr. Attlee received the Dutch Premier, Dr. Schermerhorn, Dr. van Mook and a Dutch delegation to discuss the situation in the Netherlands East Indies. General Christison announced more active measure against Javanese terrorism, invited co-operation of Mr. Sjahrir and the Amir Sjarifudin. Further bomb outrages at Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel-Aviv caused casualties to British troops and serious damage.

December 28. Statement on Anglo-Dutch discussions issued. Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Shertok dissociated the Jewish Agency from the Palestine attacks. Official statement issued on the results of the Moscow conference. Announced that bread rationing in France would be reimposed on January 1.

December 29. Five-Year Commercial Agreement between France and the U.S.S.R. signed in Moscow. British Food Minister Sir Ben Smith, left England for the U.S.

December 30. General MacArthur declared the Four-Power Control Council for Japan " in my opinion not acceptable," but would endeavour to secure the plan's smooth working. Texts of Hitler's personal will and political testament published. King Michael returned to Bucharest after four months' absence.

December 31. Chinese Government announced the conditional acceptance of Communist proposal for " cease-fire " in the civil war. In a New Year message to his people, the Emperor of Japan repudiated the doctrine that he was divine. King Michael broadcast to the people of Rumania.

FALLEN LEADERS

1. Dr. Robert Ley, Nazi 'Labour Front' leader, with U.S. parachute troopers who arrested him on May 16, 1945, near Berchtesgaden. He strangled himself on October 25, while awaiting trial at Nuremberg. 2. Franz von Papen, former Reich Chancellor and Ambassador to Turkey, after capture on April 14 by U.S. glider troops near Stockhausen in the Ruhr. Later, he faced trial at Nuremberg. 3. Field-Marshal K. R. G. von Rundstedt, former C.-in-C. in the west, after arrest on May 2, at Bad Tölz, near Munich. 4. Artur von Seyss-Inquart, former Reich Commissioner for the Netherlands, seized by Royal Welch Fusiliers at Hamburg on May 6. 5. Field-Marshal von Blaskowitz, former C.-in-C. in the Netherlands, who surrendered to the Canadians at Appeldoorn, June 5.

Chapter 386

WAR CRIME: A NEW INTERNATIONAL CONCEPTION

In this chapter the Allied agreements leading up to the indictment and trial of enemy citizens charged with crimes under international law, the nature of the crimes charged against them, and the grounds on which the charges were preferred, are set out. Some account of actual trials is also given

It is but rarely that an event occurs that can properly be described as of outstanding importance in the history of the human race. The month of August 1945 has some claim, therefore, to be considered unique, for in it there happened two events which history may decide deserve that description.

On August 6 the first atomic bomb used in warfare was dropped at Hiroshima, causing 132,000 casualties, of whom over 90,000 were dead or missing.

On August 8 an agreement was signed between the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Russia containing a Charter declaring for the first time in history that by international law the waging of a war of aggression, the violation of the laws of war, and brutality towards the civilian population even of a State's own nationals are crimes punishable by death, and providing for the trial by an international military tribunal of the military, political and industrial leaders of Germany accused of these acts.

Even had it stood alone, this Charter would have been of outstanding importance, but its significance was increased many times by the realization that with the harnessing of the energy produced by atomic fission another war might well mean the destruction of civilization.

The measures taken to deal with war criminals were very different in the Second Great War from what they were in the First. Then, although horrors and atrocities were not lacking—e.g. the treatment of the civilians in Belgium, the executions of Nurse Edith Cavell and Captain Fryatt, and the sinking of hospital ships and of merchant ships such as the "Lusitania,"—no effective steps were ever taken to bring to justice those responsible. Special commissions were set up to make inquiries, and evidence was collected, but events, and mainly the fact that Germany was never occupied, so that the accused could not be seized, made any satisfactory trials impossible. It is interesting to remember that one of these commissions—the Belgian—stated that the atrocities were not isolated acts, but were premeditated and systematic—an obvious feature in the Second Great War.

After the First Great War

By Articles 228–230 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany undertook to hand over to the Allies persons charged with committing war crimes, to be tried before allied military tribunals, and early in 1920 the Allies delivered lists of those they accused containing nearly 900 names including those of all the greatest men of the war in Germany—Kaiser Wilhelm II, Field Marshals Hindenburg and Ludendorff, Admiral von Tirpitz, the former Chancellor Bethman-Hollweg, the Army Commanders and other famous generals, and most of the Princes. The Kaiser was charged by Article 227 of the Treaty with a "supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." He had, however, fled to the Netherlands. The Dutch refused to surrender him to the Allies on the ground that the crime with which he was charged was unknown to Dutch Law and had been created only by the Treaty of Versailles. That treaty, they contended, attempted to make criminal an act which was not a crime at the time it was done. This "contradicted the very idea of justice."

Many of the other accused were in Germany and could be traced, but the German government pointed out that they could not be surrendered without legislation by the Reichstag, that as many of them were regarded as national heroes no such legislation would ever be passed, and any German government which proposed it would instantly be put out of office.

Accused Not Surrendered

They made the alternative suggestion that a number of selected cases should be tried before the Supreme Court at Leipzig. This was accepted and 45 cases were selected, the accused being in most cases subordinates. A few convictions were obtained, but the sentences imposed were trivial and the whole proceedings were described by "The Times" as "a travesty of justice," although a careful and fair-minded observer, Mr. Claud Mullins,

NAZI WAR SUSPECTS HELD IN THEIR OWN PRISON

Prisons and concentration camps in Germany which once housed their victims were, after the war, used to hold Nazi suspects awaiting trial. Here, a file of these suspects at the prison-fortress of Hohentubingen, at Rottweil, in occupied Wurtemburg, takes exercise in the yard. Chief of the camp was a Frenchman, Mathias Reger, formerly a prisoner of the Nazis here for 20 months.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE TRIAL OF NAZI LEADERS

Lord Wright, chairman of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, here opens the War Crimes Conference, over which he presided, in the Royal Courts of Justice, London, on May 30, 1945. Below, signing of the Four Powers Agreement on war criminals in Church House, Westminster, on August 8. Left to right, Professor A. N. Trainin and General I. T. Nikitchenko (U.S.S.R.) ; Lord Jowitt (Britain) ; and Mr. Justice Jackson (U.S.).

Photos, G.P.U. ; Topical Press

was of the opinion that the German judges endeavoured to act fairly.

In the Second Great War, steps were early taken to prevent a repetition of such futility. On October 25, 1941, President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill both drew attention to the atrocities being committed by the Germans in occupied territory, and Mr. Churchill declared that retribution for these crimes must henceforward take its place among the major purposes of the war. In November 1941 and January 1942 Mr. Molotov circulated among the Powers notes of the atrocities committed by Germans in Russia ; and in November 1942 an Edict of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. set up a Commission of investigation, declaring that the Hitler Government, the High Command of the German Army, and their accomplices should bear the full measure of criminal and material responsibility for the crimes and material damage done.

A United Nations War Crimes Commission, with Lord Wright as chairman, was set up in London in October 1943 to collect evidence. A declaration made in Moscow in November 1943 by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States and Russia proclaimed that at the time of any armistice to any government which might be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who had been responsible for or had taken a consenting part in the atrocities, massacres and executions alleged against them would be sent back to the countries in which their crimes had been committed, to be tried there by the laws of those countries. The major criminals whose offences had no particular geographical location would be punished by the joint decision of the Allied Governments. The declaration was confirmed by the Heads of Government of the United Kingdom, the United States and Soviet Russia at their meeting at Potsdam in 1945 (*see* page 3931).

Moscow Declaration

The Moscow declaration was promptly acted upon in Russia, at Kharkov, where in December 1943 four Germans were convicted and hanged publicly (*see* illus. in page 2935) for the mass extermination of Soviet civilians by gassing.

As the end of the war approached, plans were formulated for the trial of the German leaders as major war criminals, and military tribunals were set up to try minor criminals charged with individual breaches of the laws of war. In the British zone, up to August 31, 1946, out of 442 persons accused 320 had been convicted. For instance, in October 1945, Heinz Eck, the Captain, and four other members of the crew of U-boat 852 were charged with the murder of British and Allied seamen whose ship, the "Peleus,"

1

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ALLIED JUSTICE FOR BELSEN CRIMINALS

The first mass trial of war criminals opened at Lüneburg, Germany, on September 17, 1945, when 35 former members of the staff of Belsen concentration camp (see illus. in page 3917) were put on trial. President of the Court was Major-General H. P. M. Berney-Ficklin, C.B., M.C. Eleven of the accused—eight men and three women—were sentenced to death on November 18 and executed, among them Josef Kramer, camp commandant, Fritz Klein, camp doctor, and Irma Grese, chief woman warder. 1. The court in session with Kramer on the extreme left in the front row of the dock, and next to him Klein. 2. Irma Grese and Kramer, 'the Beast of Belsen.' 3. The judges' dais.

WAR TRIAL JUDGE

The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Lawrence, Lord Justice of Appeal, who was appointed on September 28, 1945, as British judge on the International Military Tribunal to try the Nazi war leaders at Nuremberg. He was later chosen as the Tribunal's President. He was born in 1880. *Photo, Illustrated*

had been torpedoed in the Atlantic in March 1944. Most of the crew got on to rafts and wreckage, and the submarine opened fire, killing many of them. At the trial it was stated for the defence that orders had been given to the Captain to destroy all wreckage when a ship was sunk in case its presence should betray the submarine to Allied aircraft. The Captain and two officers were sentenced to death and two other members of the crew were imprisoned.

A German General, Döstler, who had been in command of an Army Corps in Italy, was sentenced to death by an American military tribunal for having issued an order under which fifteen American Rangers when prisoners of war had been shot, contrary to the Geneva Convention. He pleaded without success the orders of Hitler that all enemy troops captured in commando operations were to be exterminated.

Death for German General

The discovery of the appalling conditions at Belsen, Dachau, and other concentration camps led to the trial and punishment of those responsible.

The trial of the leaders of Nazi Germany opened at Nuremberg on November 20, 1945, before an International Military Tribunal set up under the Charter of August 8, 1945, and comprising the following four members and four alternate members :

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland :

The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Lawrence (President) ;

The Hon. Sir William Norman Birkett (alternate member) ;

For the United States of America :

Mr. Francis Biddle ;

Judge John J. Parker (alternate member) ;

For the French Republic :

M. Le Professeur Donnedieu de Vabres ;

M. Le Conseiller Falco (alternate member) ;

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics :

Major-General I. T. Nikitchenko ;

Lieutenant-Colonel A. F. Volchkov (alternate member) .

The chief prosecuting counsel were :

H.M. Attorney-General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, K.C., M.P. (for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) ;

Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson (for the United States of America) ;

M. François De Menthon (for the French Republic) ;

General R. A. Rudenko (for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Supreme importance attached to the Charter under which the tribunal was constituted—not, indeed, on account of the punishment that under its provisions might be meted out to the "twenty-odd broken men" sitting in the dock at Nuremberg (for, as Mr. Justice Jackson said, "their personal capacity for evil is forever past"), but in the warning it gave to those who in future might be tempted to wage a war of aggression that this was a crime, and they would do so, in the words of Sir Hartley Shawcross, "with a halter round their necks."

In order that the trial might have this effect, it was not enough that those charged at Nuremberg should be convicted. It was not enough that the whole world should recognize their punishment to be deserved. It must further be universally acknowledged then and in the future that their punishment was according to law. Otherwise Nuremberg would be regarded not as justice but as vengeance—*vae victis*.

The law which made the accused's alleged acts criminal offences could not be the law of the victorious countries for none of the accused was subject to those laws. The Court claimed to be administering international law ; but the Court did not make this law, for it had no power to do so. Its power was limited to deciding whether the accused had committed the acts set out in the indictment. Having so decided, it was bound by the terms of the Charter to accept that Charter as being correct in law and to hold that these acts were crimes.

Was it then the Charter that made these acts crimes ? The answer is again No. The compilers of the Charter had no power to make any law, for they were not a World Parliament ; nor did they claim any such power. Even if they had had such a power, they would have offended violently against natural justice if they had in 1945 made criminal for the first time acts done by the Germans before that year.

A Principle of Natural Justice

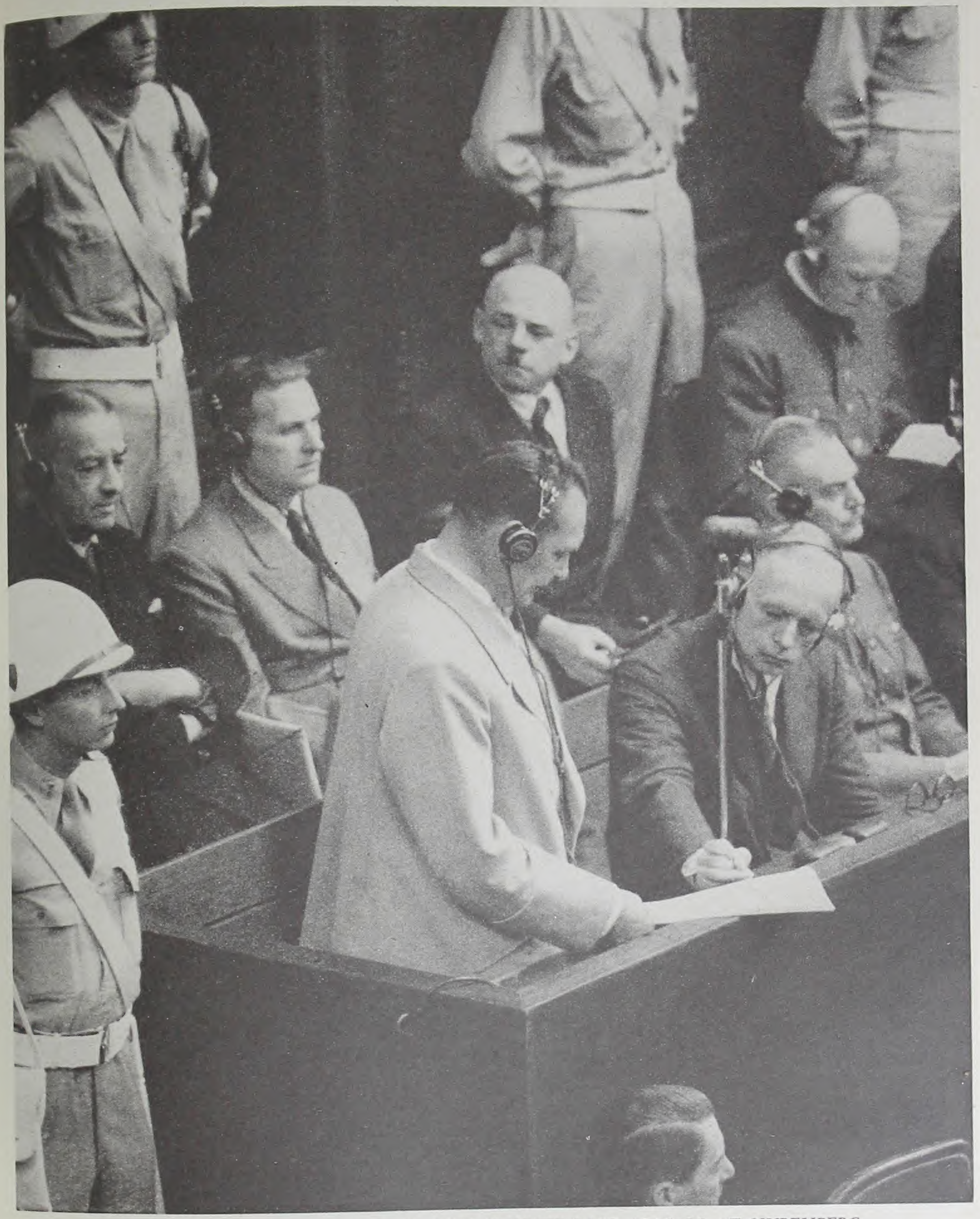
It is a fundamental principle of natural justice that if a man has done an act, however wicked or immoral, which was nevertheless not at the time he did it forbidden and made punishable by law, he cannot be punished for having done it by a law made at a later time. "Nullum crimen nulla poena sine lege."

The compilers of the Charter could only declare law that was already in existence, and never claimed to do more. The fundamental question therefore was: "Were the acts declared in the Charter to be crimes by international law truly crimes by that law before the Charter was drawn up ?" International lawyers and others in Great Britain were not unanimous in their answer to that question and in their views as to the legality of the trial. On the contrary,

BRITISH PROSECUTOR

It was announced on August 13, 1945, that Sir Hartley Shawcross, K.C., M.P., who had succeeded Sir David Maxwell Fyfe as Attorney-General on the formation of the Labour Government in July 1945, had been appointed chief prosecutor for Britain at the Nuremberg war crimes trial.

Photo, Associated Press



NAZI WAR LEADERS MAKE LAST APPEALS AT NUREMBERG

Twenty-one of the accused in the Nuremberg war crimes trial made their final pleas on August 31, 1946. They were limited to fifteen minutes each. Here, Goering reads his plea into the microphone as Ribbentrop looks on. Field-Marshal Wilhelm Keitel sits impassively on Ribbentrop's left. In the second row, left to right, are Admiral Erich Raeder, Baldur von Schirach, Fritz Sauckel and Colonel-General Alfred Jodl. Goering declared, 'Never did I decree a murder. Never did I decree any cruelty where I had the power and knowledge to prevent it.' *Photo, Associated Press*

IN THE HISTORIC COURT ROOM AT NUREMBERG—

When Lord Justice Lawrence, British President of the International Military Tribunal, opened the war crimes trial at Nuremberg on November 20, 1945, he described it as being ' unique in the history of the jurisprudence of the world ' and ' of supreme importance to millions of people all over the globe.' The trial was held in a sombre panelled court room of the Palace of Justice which had been reconstructed for the occasion. Here, Major Frank B.Wallis (D), one of the American Assistant Trial Counsel, describes how the Nazis acquired power. On the left are the four judges and their deputies, (A) Maj.-Gen. I. T. Nikichenko and Lt.-Col. A. F. Volchkov, Russia; (B) Sir Norman Birkett, Great Britain; (C) Lord Justice Lawrence.

—THE TRIAL OF THE LEADERS OF NAZI GERMANY

The prisoners in the dock on the right are : (E) Goering ; (F) Hess ; (G) Ribbentrop ; (H) Keitel ; (I) Rosenberg ; (J) Frank ; (K) Frick ; (L) Streicher ; (M) Funk ; (N) Schacht ; (O) Doenitz ; (P) Raeder ; (Q) Schirach ; (R) Sauckel ; (S) Jodl ; (T) Papen ; (U) Seyss-Inquart ; (V) Speer ; (W) Neurath ; (X) Fritsche (see page 3979). At a later stage (below), a large chart (see also illus. in page 3981) was displayed demonstrating the distribution of power in the Third Reich among the Nazi Party leaders. On the bench, on the President's left, are (left to right): Mr. Francis Biddle and Judge John J. Parker (U.S.A.) ; and M. le Professeur Donnedieu de Vabres and M. le Conseiller Robert Falco (France).

CASE AGAINST JAPAN'S MAJOR WAR CRIMINALS OPENS AT TOKYO

Photo, International News

Prosecution of the leading militarists of Japan by the Far East International Tribunal opened in Tokyo on June 4, 1946. A function of the trial, declared Mr. Joseph Keenan, chief Allied prosecutor, was to establish the fact that there is 'such a thing as international law and that a war of aggression is a crime under that law.' The defendants included the former Premier, Hideki Tojo, and members of his Cabinet. Above, Tojo (sixth from left in front row of dock) listens intently while Major Ben Blakeney, U.S. Army (standing in front, left) asks the court to adjourn to enable defending counsel to prepare their case. On September 9 Colonel C. D. Wild, liaison officer in South-East Asia, told the tribunal that within two years 16,000 out of 40,000 British prisoners of war had died in Japanese hands.

the trial, although its proceedings were upheld by many of the most eminent lawyers, was considered by some as reminiscent of political treason trials, and as undermining the world's conception of justice. Some attention is therefore given below to the grounds on which the Charter declared certain acts to be crimes.

The accused were 24 in number :

GOERING, Hermann Wilhelm. Supreme Leader of the S.A., Reich Minister for Air, Commander in Chief of the Air Force, member of the Secret Cabinet Council, etc.

RIBBENTROP, Joachim von. Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, member of the Secret Cabinet Council, etc.

HESS, Rudolf. Deputy to the Führer, member of the Secret Cabinet Council, etc.

KALTENBRUNNER, Ernst. Head of the Reich Main Security Office and Chief of the Security Police and Security Service, etc. (absent at first through illness).

ROSENBERG, Alfred. Editor of the Nazi newspaper " Völkischer Beobachter," Special Delegate for the entire Spiritual and Ideological Training of the Nazi Party, etc.

FRANK, Hans. Reich Commissar for the Co-ordination of Justice, Governor-General of the Occupied Polish territories, etc.

GOERING CONSULTS WITH HIS LAWYER

At one time second most powerful personality in Hitler's Reich, Hermann Goering, like other major war criminals on trial at Nuremberg, was granted only the privileges of an ordinary prisoner. Guarded by a U.S. sentry and across the grille, he here discusses the trial with his lawyer, Dr. Otto Stahmer, who reads to him questions which will later be put in court. *Photo, Keystone*

BORMANN, Martin. Secretary of the Führer, organizer and head of the Volkssturm, etc. (tried in absence).

FRICK, Wilhelm. Reich Minister of the Interior, Director of the Central Office for all Occupied Territories, etc.

LEY, Robert. Nazi Party Organization Manager, Joint Organizer of the Central Inspection for the Care of Foreign Workers, etc. (Committed suicide in his cell, October 25, 1945.)

SAUCKEL, Fritz. General Plenipotentiary for the Employment of Labour under the Four Year Plan, etc.

SPEER, Albert. Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions, Chief of the Organization Todt, etc.

FUNK, Walter. Economic Adviser of Hitler, Press Chief of the Reich Government, President of the German Reichsbank, etc.

SCHACHT, Hjalmar. Reich Minister of Economics, President of the German Reichsbank, etc.

PAPEN, Franz von. Reich Chancellor, Ambassador in Vienna, Ambassador in Turkey, etc.

KRUPP, Gustav. Head of Friedrich Krupp A.G., etc. (trial deferred by the tribunal).

NEURATH, Constantin von. Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia, etc.

SCHIRACH, Baldur von. Leader of Youth of the German Reich, etc.

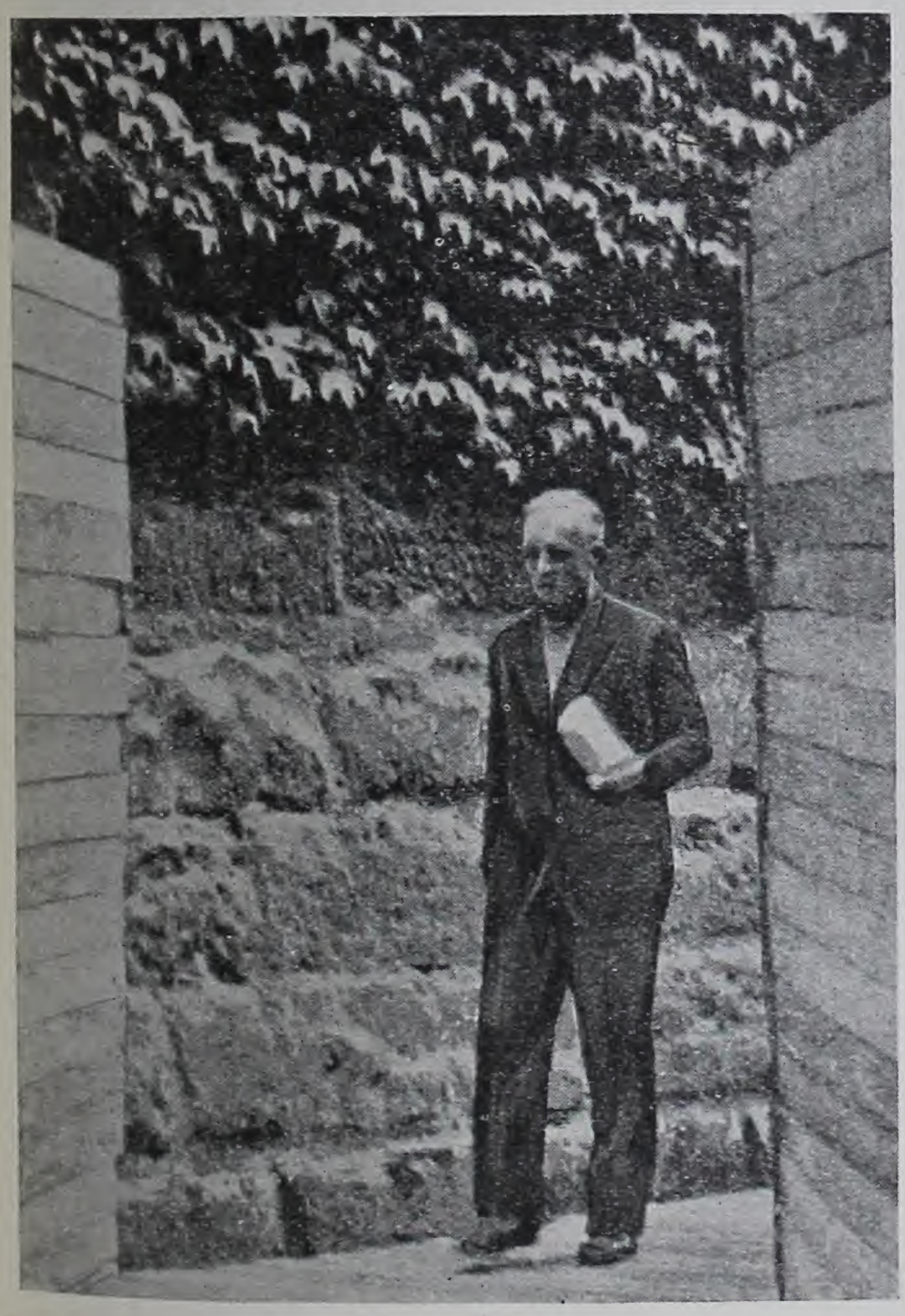
SEYSS-INQUART, Artur. Chancellor of Austria, Deputy Governor-General of the Polish Occupied Territory, Reich Commissar for the Occupied Netherlands, etc.

STREICHER, Julius. Gauleiter of Franconia, Editor-in-Chief of the anti-Semitic newspaper " Der Stürmer," etc.

KEITEL, Wilhelm. Chief of the High Command of the German Armed Forces, Field-Marshal, etc.

JODL, Alfred. Chief of Staff OKW, Colonel-General, etc.

RAEDER, Erich. Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy, Grossadmiral. etc.



RIBBENTROP GOES TO COURT

Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's Foreign Minister, enters the specially built walled board-walk between his cell and the Nuremberg court house. It was decided on September 17, 1946, that time and place of any executions following the trial were to be announced only after they had taken place.

Photo, Associated Press

DOENITZ, Karl. Commander-in-Chief of the U-boat arm, Grossadmiral, Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy, etc.

FRITZSCHE, Hans. Editor-in-Chief of the official German news agency "Deutsche Nachrichten Büro," Head of the Wireless News Service, etc.

In addition, the following were named as illegal organizations so that under the Charter any person who had been a member of any of these organizations could be tried and punished on that ground alone:

Die Reichsregierung (Reich Cabinet); Das Korps der Politischen Leiter der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei (Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party); Die Schutzstaffeln der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei (commonly known as the "SS") and including Der Sicherheitsdienst (commonly known as the "SD") Die Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police, commonly known as the "GESTAPO"); Die Sturmabteilungen der N.S.D.A.P. (commonly known as the "SA"); and the General Staff and High Command of the German Armed Forces.

In the case of the accused persons the acts, declared to be crimes, fell under three heads: (1) Crimes against Peace; (2) War Crimes; (3) Crimes against Humanity.

The indictment against the accused charged them not only with these three offences, but also with the separate offence of participating in a common plan or conspiracy to commit them.

GRIM EVIDENCE AT THE NUREMBERG WAR TRIAL

Among evidence produced for the prosecution at Nuremberg was the register (above) used by the Gestapo in Poland to record the names, offences and fate of arrested persons, the 'crime' of many of whom was simply the fact that they were Jews. A cross on the margin indicated that execution had been carried out. Below, Nazi photograph of Jews being forced from air-raid shelters by S.S. men during the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943 (see also illus. in page 2725).

Crimes Against Peace

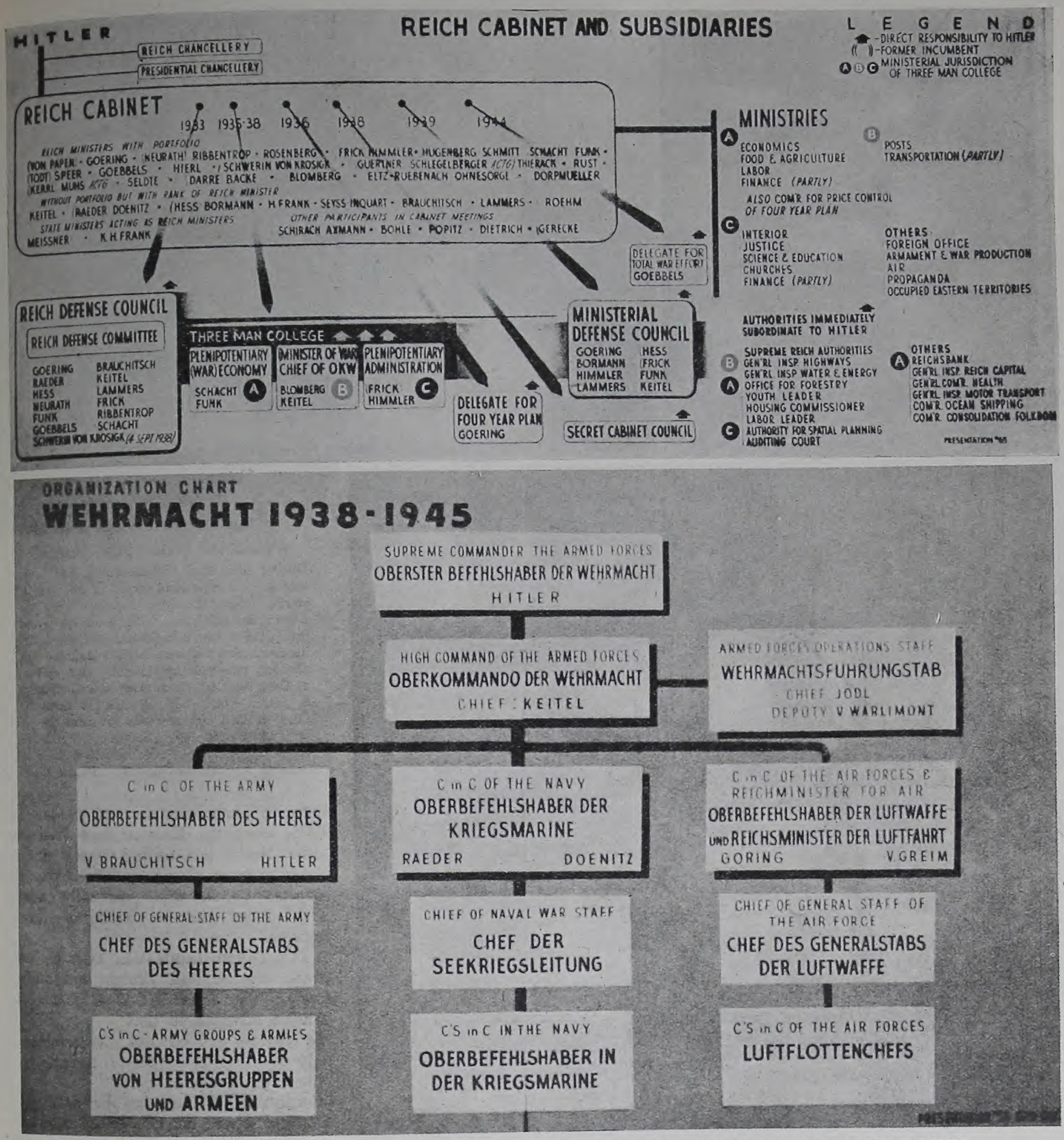
The planning or waging of an aggressive war was declared a crime because it infringed the common law of the community of nations as contained in and deduced from international treaties and the practice of nations.

A. N. Trainin (*see* illus. in p. 3972) in his "Hitlerite Responsibility under Criminal Law," pointed out that the epoch when nations lived in isolation had passed away. Stable international communion had been created. An infringement of this most important achievement of human society, an infringement of the connexion between states and peoples, is an international crime. International crime, consequently, must be defined as an infringement of the foundations of international communion.

Some support for the view that there is a common law of the community of nations which can be deduced from international treaties was given by Lord Wright in the "Law Quarterly Review" for January 1946. After stating that a treaty or agreement making war illegal binds only the nations who were parties to it, he continues, "But it may be regarded from a different aspect. It is evidence of the acceptance by the civilized nations of the principle that war is an illegal thing. This principle so accepted is entitled to rank as a rule of international law."

Common Law of Nations

Those who demanded that international law should conform to the usual conception of national law, namely a rule enacted by a central law-making authority or a Court, could of course recognize no international law at all, for there was no World Parliament or World Court. Such a conception of law was, however, unduly narrow. Even in English law, what is called common law was originally developed



CHARTS SHOWED DISTRIBUTION OF NAZI POWER

Among many significant exhibits at the Nuremberg war trial were these charts. The top one showed in detail the distribution of power, from 1933–1944, among the Nazi leaders, from Hitler downwards. The other showed the organization, from 1938–45, of the entire German armed forces, of which Hitler was also in supreme command. *Photos, G.P.U.*

from local customs which were recognized by the Courts as being common to all parts of the land. There seemed no reason why international law should not develop likewise from the common practice of all civilized states.

At one time war was recognized as a method a state might legitimately employ merely because it considered it was to its advantage to do so. "War is the continuation of politics by other means," wrote Clausewitz. During the 19th and 20th centuries, however, the peoples of the world came more and more to realize and accept the proposition that war was an evil thing. This changing attitude and the growth of the idea of an international community may be traced in a large number of international treaties designed to prevent war. The first were the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. Neither of these compelled states to submit their disputes to arbitration before going to war, but they did set up machinery for arbitration and for international commissions of inquiry of which states could take advantage if they chose, and this machinery was frequently and effectively used. The Dogger Bank incident

SPARTAN FARE FOR NAZIS

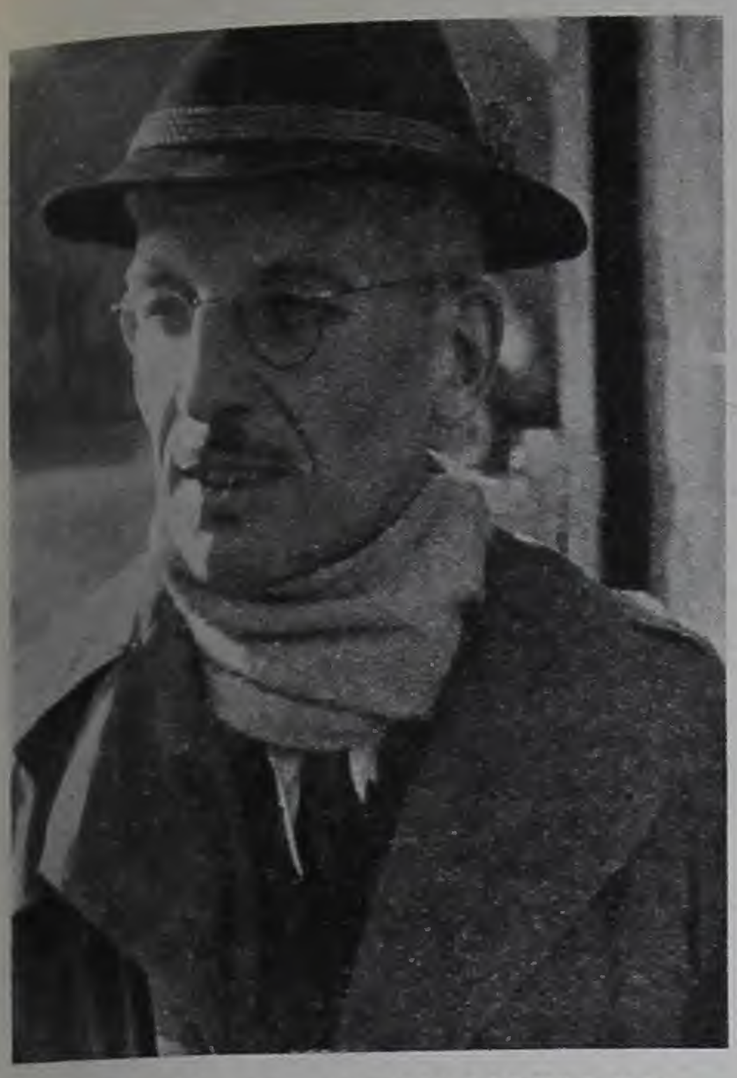
During their trial at Nuremberg, the Nazi leaders had their food served in two special rooms above the court house. They ate from army mess kits, with spoons only, and drank from cups without handles. A typical lunch consisted of bean hash, with bread and cheese, followed by biscuits and coffee. 1. Over his hash, Hess talks to a neighbour. 2. Alfred Jodl (left), former Wehrmacht Chief of Staff, lunches with Wilhelm Keitel, once Chief of the High Command. 3. During an adjournment, accused talk with their counsel. *Photos, L.N.A.; Planet News*

between Great Britain and Russia in 1904, when the Russian fleet fired on some North Sea fishing vessels under the impression that they were Japanese torpedo boats, was pacifically dealt with under the provisions of these treaties.

Arbitration Treaties

The Bryan arbitration treaties between the United States and many foreign countries in 1914 mark a definite advance in that the parties agreed not only to refer their disputes to a permanent international Commission for investigation and report, but also to refrain from going to war until the report of the Commission had been made. The League of Nations, whose formation was included in the settlements following the First Great War, was designed to prevent all further wars.

Further indications of the changed attitude towards war are found in the provisions designed to limit armaments contained in the Covenant of the League and in various treaties, and even more in treaties (such as the Treaty of Locarno, 1925) by which war is renounced or, in the popular phrase, "outlawed." Overshadowing all agree-



AUSTRIA'S EX-CHANCELLOR

Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, Austrian Chancellor (1934-38), who had been held prisoner by the Nazis since the 'Anschluss' of 1938, on arrival at Nuremberg to give evidence at the war crimes trial. He had been rescued from the Praxer Wildsee concentration camp, near the Brenner Pass, by the 5th Army on May 7, 1945. *Photo, Keystone*

ments was the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the General Treaty for the Renunciation of War, the parties to which solemnly declared that they condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounced war as an instrument of national policy. This treaty was ultimately accepted by all the great powers, and in 1939 was binding on more than sixty nations, including Germany.

Besides these general treaties, the right to wage war was, according to Sir Hartley Shawcross at Nuremberg, "further circumscribed by a series of treaties numbering—it is an astonishing figure, but it is right—nearly a thousand, of arbitration and conciliation, embracing practically all the nations of the world."

A Thousand Treaties Against War

It was contended that the above facts established by 1939 that civilized nations had accepted the principle that war was illegal, and that therefore this principle became part of the common law of the community of nations.

Those who opposed the contention that the acts charged are crimes by international law did so on the following grounds:

(1) Though the Kellogg-Briand Pact and other international treaties made war illegal, they did not make it criminal. This argument overlooks the fact that one of the characteristics which usually distinguish a crime from other illegal acts which are not crimes is that a crime injures in some degree the community as a whole. In this connexion, Lord Wright may be quoted: "War is an evil thing. It is no hyperbole to describe the war of 1939 to be one of the greatest calamities that ever befell the human race. To initiate a war of aggression is not only a crime but the chief of war crimes."

(2) The system of prohibition of war had broken down before 1939 and ceased to be law. For this contention there would at first sight appear to be much support. Between the signing of the Kellogg–Briand Pact and the outbreak of the Second Great War, the Pact was broken eleven times—an average of just over once every year. (Three of these breaches were by Germany, against Austria 1937, Czechoslovakia 1939, Poland 1939, three by Russia against China 1929, Poland 1939, Finland 1939.) But a crime does not become any less criminal because others also have committed crimes, and it was pointed out by Sir Hartley Shawcross at Nuremberg that many of these acts had been denounced as violations of the Pact by the League of Nations, and even if sanctions were not applied as they might have been, "that was a failure of the policeman, not of the law."

War Crimes

Of all the crimes set out in the Charter, war crimes—violations of the laws and customs of war—present the least novelty, as in the past there have been many cases in which military tribunals of one country have tried and convicted nationals of an enemy country for atrocities as violations of the laws and customs of war.

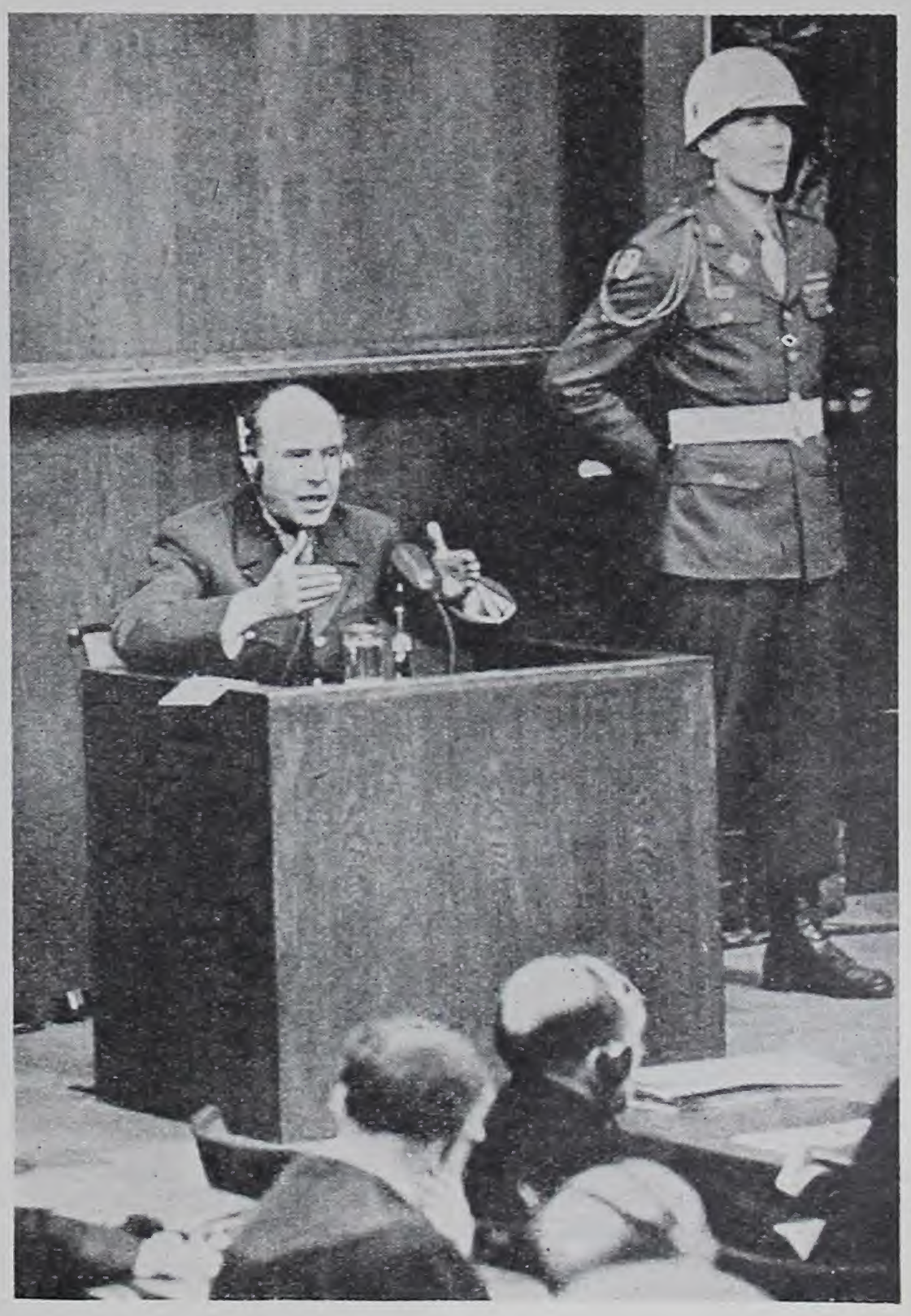
Between the Declaration of St. Petersburg of 1868, which forbade the use of explosive bullets, and the outbreak of the Second Great War, there were some eight further Conventions (the most important of which are the Geneva Conventions of 1906 and 1929, dealing respectively with the treatment of the wounded and of prisoners of war, and the Hague Convention of 1907) containing the laws and customs of war on land.

Conventions Defining War Customs

War crimes were declared to be crimes not only because they infringed one or other of these Conventions, but also because they infringed the "general principles of criminal law as derived from the criminal law of all civilized countries." A novelty was that although some actual perpetrators of war crimes had in the past been tried, this was the first occasion on which the leaders of a nation were charged with crimes committed by persons in subordinate positions.

Crimes against Humanity

The Charter expressly stigmatized as crimes against humanity inhumane acts committed against *any* civilian population *before or during the war;*



KESSELRING IN WITNESS BOX

Albert Kesselring, one time German C.-in-C. in Italy and the West, gave evidence at Nuremberg. Wearing headphones to enable him to follow the German translation of the proceedings, he here answers accusations put by Mr. Justice Jackson, Chief Prosecuting Counsel for the U.S.A.

Photo, Associated Press

or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connexion with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.

That this crime did present some legal difficulty was conceded by Professor Goodhart, Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, in the " Juridical Review " for April 1946. It had been generally accepted that international law was not concerned with the way in which a state treated its own nationals. To this, however, there were two answers : in the past states had interfered to protect the nationals of another state against its rulers—e.g. on behalf of Christians in Turkey. Secondly, as Professor Goodhart states, the Charter did not claim that ill-treatment by a state of its own nationals was a crime unless the ill-treatment took place in the execution of one of the crimes already dealt with, in which case it might well be said to affect the international community.

Among other provisions of the Charter which appeared to be innovations was one declaring that the official position of an accused person, whether as Head of State or as a responsible official in a Government Department, should not be considered as freeing him from responsibility.

It further provided that the fact that an accused acted in pursuance of an order of his Government or of a superior should not free him from responsibility, but might be considered as a mitigation of his offence.

Hitherto it had been held by some writers on international law, and also in the British " Manual of the Laws and Usages of War on Land " that a soldier charged with committing some breach of the rules of war could escape liability if he could show that he acted on the orders of a superior, and it was the supposed existence of this rule that largely contributed to the failure to punish war criminals after the war of 1914–1918, since it would have led to the charging of all crimes against the Head of the State ; but, under another supposed rule of international law, he as sovereign could claim total immunity. These two rules combined would prevent the punishment of any war criminal except where it could be proved that the act charged was an atrocity committed by an individual without orders.

Former Escape from Liability

The Charter was criticized also on the ground that even if the acts specified in it were crimes by international law, this could not impose any liability on individual nationals of a state for, it was argued, states, not individuals, enter into treaties and are members of the international community and are subject to international law. The liability of individuals under international law was not, however, new, as it had long been recognized that individuals could be punished for breaches of the laws and usages of war committed by them.

" Stern justice will be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have

U-BOAT OFFICERS TRIED FOR MURDER

The trial of members of a U-boat crew—the U 852—opened at Hamburg on October 17, 1945. They were charged with murdering British and other Allied seamen after their U-boat had sunk the Greek ship ' Peleus ' in the Atlantic on March 13, 1944. Here, Captain Heinz Eck, the commander, who, with two of his officers, was sentenced to death, shakes hands with one of the defence counsel.

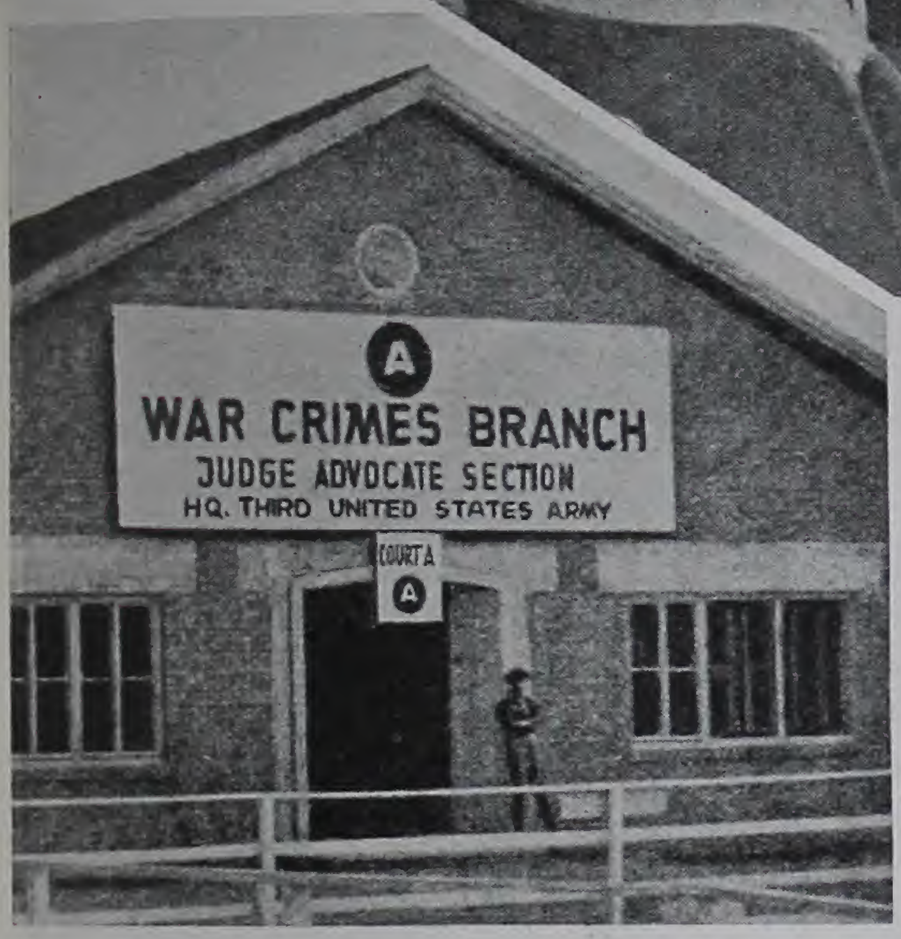
Photo, Keystone

DEATH FOR THE DESTROYER OF LIDICE

Karl Hermann Frank, who ordered the obliteration of Lidice (see page 2569), came up for trial before a Czechoslovak People's Court in Prague, on March 22, 1946. On May 22 he was publicly hanged in the Pancrac prison, the 5,000 onlookers including (by special invitation) survivors of Lidice. Here, Frank faces his judges in front of the customary crucifix and candles of a Czechoslovak court.

Photo, Keystone

visited cruelties upon our prisoners," stated the Potsdam Declaration (*see* page 3847), and this declaration was accepted by Japan in the terms of surrender signed on September 3, 1945 (*see* page 3842). By those same terms, the government of Japan passed under the control of the Supreme Allied Commander. In that position General MacArthur on January 16, 1946, issued a proclamation providing



GERMAN GENERALS ON MURDER CHARGE

The trial began at a U.S. court at Dachau (left) on May 16, 1946, of Colonel-General Sepp Dietrich, Generals Fritz Kramer and Hermann Priess, and 71 other German soldiers. They were charged with murdering unarmed U.S. soldiers during the Ardennes counter-offensive of December 1944–January 1945. Above, the defendants in court, with Dietrich (11), sentenced to life imprisonment; Kramer (33), 10 years; and Priess (45), 20 years. Forty-three of the soldiers were hanged.

Photos, Associated Press; New York Times Photos

for the establishment of an International Military Tribunal in Tokyo which was to operate under a Charter issued on April 26, and substantially the same as the Charter of August 8, 1945, under which the German leaders were tried, except that it contained no provision similar to that in the European charter under which the Head of a State is expressly stated to be entitled to no immunity.

Names for membership of the Tribunal were submitted by the signatories to the surrender (*see* illus. in page 3842), and from them General MacArthur selected the following: Sir William F. Webb (Australia), President; Justice E. Stuart McDougall (Canada); Judge Ju-Ao Mei (China); M. Henri Reimburger (France); Professor Bernard Victor A. Roling (Netherlands); Justice Erima Harvey Northcroft (New Zealand); Judge I. M. Zaryanov (U.S.S.R.); Lord Patrick (United Kingdom); Major-General Myron C. Kramer (U.S.A.). Mr. Joseph B. Keenan was appointed to act as Chief U.S. and international prosecutor; Mr. A. S. Comyns Carr, K.C. (assisted by Mr. Christmas Humphreys) as chief British prosecutor; and Mr. Justice Mansfield as chief Australian prosecutor.

The men tried by the Tokyo tribunal, which began its sittings on June 4, 1946, appear in page 3978, and were (front row, left to right): General Kenji Doihara, Commander, Special Service Section, Manchuria; General Shunroku Hata, member, Supreme War Council; Koki Hirota, Premier, 1936; Jiro Minami, ex-Privy Councillor; General Hideki Tojo, Premier and War Minister; Takasumi Oka, Chief of Military Affairs Bureau of the Navy, 1940–44; General Yoshijiro Umezu, Vice-Minister of War; General Sadao Araki, member, Supreme War Council; Akira Muto, Chief of Military Affairs, 1939–42; Naoki Hoshino, Chief Secretary; Hokonori Kaya, Minister of Finance; Koichi Kido, Emperor's Chief Confidential Adviser; Heitaro Kimura, Vice-Minister of War; behind them, left to right, Colonel Kingoro Hashimoto, commander of an artillery regiment at the rape of Nanking and the shelling of H.M.S. gunboats "Ladybird" and "Bee"; Kuniaki Koiso, Premier; Admiral Osumi Nagano, member, Supreme War Council; Hiroshi Oshima, Ambassador to Germany, 1938–45; Iwane Matsui, member, Cabinet Advisory Council, 1938–39; Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, Premier, 1939; Shigenori Togo, Foreign Minister; Mamoru Shigemitsu, Foreign Minister; Kenryo Sato, Chief of Military Affairs Bureau, 1942–44; Vice-Admiral Shigetaro Shimada, Navy Minister; Toshio Shiratori, Ambassador to Italy, 1939; Lieutenant-General Teiichi Suzuki, Minister without Portfolio under Tojo; Seishiro Itagaki, Chief of Staff, Kwangtung Army.

Far Eastern Trials

Meanwhile 239 lesser prisoners had been tried by British military courts between January and July 1946, 98 being sentenced to death, 105 to terms of imprisonment, 36 being acquitted. Also trials before American and Australian Courts involved British victims.

THE UNITED NATIONS HOLD THEIR FIRST ASSEMBLY

The Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, established at the San Francisco Conference in June 1945 to arrange for the first meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs, completed its work in just over six months and on January 10, 1946 the first General Assembly was opened at Central Hall, Westminster, by the Rt. Hon. Clement R. Attlee, Prime Minister of Great Britain

When the San Francisco Conference ended in June 1945 the fifty nations represented there had decided to "establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations." In the Charter that they had signed they had laid down the broad principles on which the new organization would work, and they had sketched out roughly its shape; but there was a great deal more work to be done before the organization could be brought into existence, before the theory of San Francisco could be made practice.

This was foreseen at San Francisco. On the same day that the Charter was signed the delegates of the 50 nations also signed an agreement establishing a Preparatory Commission of the United Nations whose task was to make provisional arrangements for the first sessions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the other organs of the United Nations. Every Government which had signed the Charter was entitled to be represented on the Commission which was thus, virtually, a skeleton General Assembly.

Six months were to elapse before the work of this Preparatory Commission was completed and it was possible to summon the first General Assembly of the United Nations.

The first stage of the Commission's work was a meeting in London of its Executive Committee in August 1945. By that time the Second Great War had ended: Japan as well as Germany had capitulated, and a new and vital factor had been introduced into international affairs—the atomic bomb. And to some extent the finer inspiration of the San Francisco Conference seemed to be becoming blunted by many difficulties which were arising after the cessation of hostilities.

Preparatory Commission in London

It took the Executive Committee nine weeks to hammer out a voluminous report which was virtually a blueprint for the new organization. It took the Preparatory Commission itself another four weeks at a meeting in London which ended just before Christmas 1945 to approve and perfect this document.

During this stage the work was mainly of a technical character and few political issues arose. In the Preparatory Commission most controversy arose over the site of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations. On this, Soviet Russia, still resentful of the fact that she had been expelled from the League of Nations in 1939, led a determined opposition to a return to Geneva, or indeed to the headquarters being in Europe at all. Mr. Noel-Baker, Minister of State and head of the British delegation to the Preparatory Commission, was an equally determined advocate of the need for the new organization to have its home in Europe where it would be in the midst of most of the problems it would have to solve, and where the war-racked countries of Europe could be easily and cheaply represented. This question—an embarrassing one for the United States delegation—almost became a major issue when Mr. Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, spoke of the danger of having the seat of the United Nations on the territory of one of the Great Powers. Mr. Spaak claimed that the whole structure of the Security Council was based on absolute equilibrium between the five Great Powers, and this equilibrium would be disturbed if, as well as having the privilege of a permanent seat at the Council table, any one of them also had the privilege of having the permanent seat of the organization in its territory.

FIRST U.N. PRESIDENT

Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who on January 10, 1946 was elected in London first President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. A lawyer by profession and Socialist deputy for Brussels, he had been Foreign Minister in the exiled Belgian Government in London during the war. He was born in 1899.

Photo, Associated Press

The final decision to establish the headquarters on the eastern side of the United States (later more precisely defined as the Stamford–North Greenwich area near New York) did not reflect the unanimous opinion of the Commission. The first voting on this important question gave 24 delegates in favour of a site in the United States and 23 in favour of Europe. As Mr. Noel-Baker pointed out, thirteen European countries were not members of the United Nations. Had they been the decision might have been different.

Site of U.N. Headquarters

Just before and during the Preparatory Commission's meeting in the autumn of 1945, international affairs had been passing through a difficult stage. The transition from war to peace had given rise, perhaps inevitably, to friction between the Great Powers. The Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in London had broken up almost in disorder: there was disagreement over the situation in many countries in Europe; Persia was complaining of Russian interference in her northern province of Azerbaijan; Russia was disgruntled because she had been excluded from the secret of the atomic bomb. In fact, relations were so strained that it was felt that the first meeting of the United Nations General Assembly scheduled for January 1946 might have to be postponed. But after a meeting in Washington between Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, and President Truman (*see* illus. in page 3855), the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Russia and Great Britain met in

PREPARING THE WAY FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION

The first meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations was held in Church House, Westminster, on November 24, 1945. All the United Nations were represented on the Commission, which on December 23 finished its work of making provisional arrangements for the first sessions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, and other organs of the United Nations, for the establishment of the Secretariat, and for the convening of the International Court of Justice. Here is the Commission at work, seen from the platform. Above, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, British Minister of State, addresses the first meeting. *Photos, Barratt's ; Associated Press*

Moscow. There they were able to reach some measure of agreement, including the decision to establish a United Nations Atomic Commission. That the agreement was uneasy was to be revealed later in the Security Council where Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Vyshinsky, the Soviet Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, were to become the central figures in a series of brisk actions.

In many ways the structure for the organization which the first General Assembly was to approve was similar to that of the League of Nations. There was to be a General Assembly consisting of all members (the adherence of Poland to the San Francisco Charter had brought the membership up to 51); the key political organ was to be the Security Council consisting of six elected members and the five Great Powers ; there was to be a new International Court of Justice, and a Trusteeship Council in place of the former League of Nations' Permanent Mandates Commission. What was entirely new was the Atomic Commission and the creation of an important Economic and Social Council of eighteen members with wide functions and powers to deal with Human Rights, and with international economic, social and cultural, educational, health and related matters.

Organs of the United Nations

And there was one striking difference between the organs and aims of the old League of Nations and those of the United Nations. In the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 8 was entirely devoted to the need for world-wide disarmament. It was this Article which gave rise to the ill-fated Disarmament Conference which met in Geneva from 1932 to 1934. Disarmament, in fact, was for 15 years one of the most important and controversial items in the League of Nations' programme. In the United Nations Charter there was no word about disarmament, and the subject was never mentioned at the first General Assembly.

Although the structure of the new organization was based very much on that of the League of Nations, there was to be a very striking contrast between the power and authority of the new Security Council and that of the old League Council—the most important difference being that all members of the United Nations were to delegate their powers of action to the Security Council. Thus without consulting the General Assembly these 11 members were to be empowered to commit all other members to any action, including military action, they thought necessary ; and the Security Council was to have armed forces at its command for this purpose.

Politically, the main difference was that the permanent members of the Security Council—the United Kingdom, Russia, the United States, France and China—were granted the right of veto. In other words any one of them could prevent action by the Security Council by the simple process of casting an adverse vote. This right of veto had been accepted very reluctantly by the smaller Powers: obviously, it created a class of privileged membership, and even the proviso that in certain circumstances a party to a dispute must abstain from voting did not fully satisfy them.

LONDON'S POSTMARK

The G.P.O. celebrated the London meeting of the United Nations, the Preparatory Commission of which met in 1945, with this special postmark.

In its voluminous report the Preparatory Commission had recommended that the first General Assembly of the United Nations should be "primarily organizational" and it was strongly hoped that no controversial international issues would be raised while the new organization was finding its feet. But these hopes were not fulfilled.

The General Assembly met in London on January 10, 1946. The British Government had requisitioned the Central Hall at Westminster, and, despite the practical difficulties of the immediate post-war period, every effort was made to house the conference with dignity and appropriate ceremony. The flags of the fifty-one nations fluttered bravely from the building ; a smart detachment of Royal Marines provided the Security guards ; fleets of cars were placed at the

U.N. General Assembly Meets

PRIME MINISTER WELCOMES THE DELEGATES

Delegates to the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in the Central Hall, Westminster, on January 10, 1946, were welcomed by Mr. Clement R. Attlee, the Prime Minister, who here addresses them from the speakers' rostrum. Central figure seated on the platform is Dr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel (Colombia), chairman of the Preparatory Commission and acting chairman of the Assembly. Among the delegates in the front row are those of Saudi Arabia.

Photo, Topical Press

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL MEETS

1. Dr. E. N. van Kleffens, Netherlands Foreign Minister, casts his vote. 2. First meeting of the Security Council. At the table, left to right, Mr. Zygmunt Modzelewski (Poland) ; Mr. Andrei A. Gromyko (Russia) ; Mr. Ernest Bevin (Britain) ; Mr. E. R. Stettinius (U.S.A.) ; Mr. Gladwyn Jebb, Executive Secretary ; Mr. N. J. O. Makin (Australia) in the chair ; Mr. C. de Freitas-Valle (Brazil) ; Dr. Wellington Koo (China) ; Abdul Hamid Badawy Pasha (Egypt) ; Mr. Vincent-Auriol (France) ; Mr. Alfonso Rosenzweig Diaz (Mexico) ; and Dr. E. N. van Kleffens (Netherlands). 3. Left to right, Mr. Andrei Vyshinsky (Russia) ; Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under Secretary to the Foreign Office ; Mr. Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary ; and Mr. E. R. Stettinius, U.S. delegate, during discussion of the Persian dispute on January 30.

Committees to carry out its main task of organizing the new organization, it was the Security Council which became the centre of interest. Here events moved swiftly.

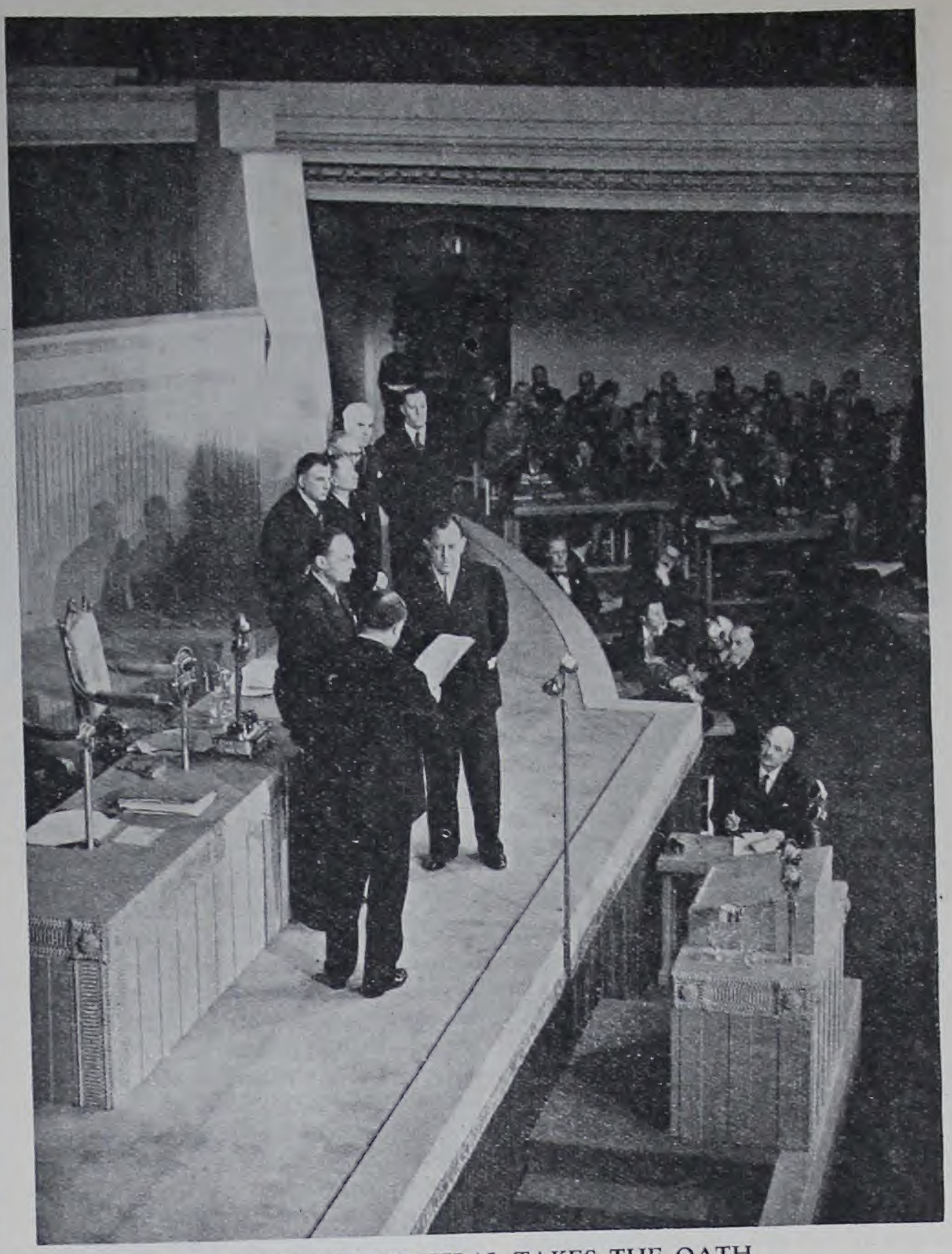
Within a week of the establishment of the Security Council, the Persian Government had presented a formal Note drawing the Council's attention to the situation in Persia where, it was alleged, the Soviet forces stationed there by a wartime agreement had interfered with the proper functions of the Persian authorities, and had encouraged the establishment of an autonomous government in Persian Azerbaijan. For the first time the Charter of the United Nations had been invoked and the Persian delegation asked that the Council should recommend the immediate withdrawal of the Russian forces.

By this time the errant Mr. Vyshinsky had arrived in London and within 48 hours there came a swift riposte. Simultaneously the Russian and Ukrainian delegations presented almost identical complaints to the Council concerning the activities of British troops in two very distant parts of the world. The Soviet Note declared that British forces, then in Greece at the request of the Greek Government, threatened the maintenance of international peace and security. The Ukrainian Note made a similar complaint about the use of British troops which were being employed in Indonesia to disarm and intern the Japanese forces left there, and which had come into armed conflict with Indonesian nationalist extremists.

Russia Accuses Britain

Whether it was Russian policy to blunt the impact of the Persian appeal, or whether the Soviet Government thought that that appeal had been encouraged by the British Government was not made clear, but "The Times" said quite openly: "The Soviet protest is clearly in the nature of a reprisal, and nothing would have been heard of it but for proceedings elsewhere to which the Soviet Government took exception." Whatever the purpose, the effect of this series of events was to transform what was to have been a "primarily organizational" session into an arena in which Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. Vyshinsky exchanged doughty blows, and plainer words were to be spoken at almost every meeting than were exchanged at Geneva during the whole existence of the League of Nations.

These two men—the Briton, a former Trade Union leader who at one time was known as the Dockers' K.C., and the Russian, a lawyer become politician—became the central figures of the discussions. Mr. Stettinius, the U.S. delegate, played virtually no part nor did the representatives of the other two Great Powers, Dr. Wellington Koo of China and Mr. Bidault of France. But the most remarkable feature of the handling of these complaints was the bluntness of the new "open diplomacy." Diplomats familiar with the private, discreet, and generally urbane meetings at Geneva listened in consternation as the Foreign Ministers of two of the Great Powers publicly criticized each other and their countries' policies. But not all the delegates were diplomats of the old school—many had played a leading part in resistance movements—and they seemed less concerned about the new form of diplomacy.



SECRETARY-GENERAL TAKES THE OATH

On February 1, 1946, Mr. Trygve Lie, Norwegian Foreign Minister, was chosen by the General Assembly as Secretary-General of the United Nations. He is here seen (facing the camera) in the Central Hall, Westminster, being sworn in next day by Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, the President, who reads the oath to him. Mr. Gladwyn Jebb, Executive Secretary, stands between them.

Photo, Topical Press

Persia's Appeal is Heard

The discussion of the Persian appeal was complicated in its early stage by the fact that no sooner had the appeal been lodged than the Persian Government fell, and a new Prime Minister more acceptable to Moscow announced that he was prepared to open negotiations with Russia. This made the outcome of the appeal obvious; but the Council continued with its hearing, and two important factors emerged from the discussions. The first was a decision that any member-country of the United Nations which was not a member of the Security Council was entitled to participate in the Council's deliberations when any complaint it had made, or in

disposal of the delegations, and from a variety of wartime jobs interpreters and translators and experienced *conférenciers* were seconded to provide the administrative staff. Nearly a half of these were former officials of the League of Nations, and many of the delegates themselves brought experience from the League's Secretariat. Eight hundred journalists from every part of the world were accredited to the Assembly, and elaborate arrangements had been made for filming and broadcasting sessions.

On the eve of the opening, H.M. the King gave a State banquet—the first for many years—to the principal delegates in St. James's Palace. Seated on his left was Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, who, following the usual custom of preliminary lobbying, had been generally approved as the President for the session.

But one important figure was missing from the gathering of Foreign Ministers and statesmen. Mr. Molotov, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who was to have led the Russian delegation, had created surprise, and because of the earlier difficulties in the Council of Foreign Ministers, some anxiety by announcing that he would not attend the London meetings. His place was to be taken by Mr. Vyshinsky, the Vice-Commissar. For the next week or so this anxiety deepened as Mr. Vyshinsky was reported to be in Sofia, in Moscow, in Berlin: almost anywhere but in London.

However, without waiting for him to arrive, the first General Assembly of the United Nations was formally opened on January 10, 1946, by Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister. He closed his opening address with these words: "We who are gathered here today in this ancient home of liberty and order are able to meet together because thousands of brave men and women have suffered and died that we may live. It is for us today, bearing in mind the great sacrifices that have been made, to prove ourselves no less courageous in approaching our great task, no less patient, no less self-sacrificing. We must and will succeed."

Mr. Attlee Opens the Assembly

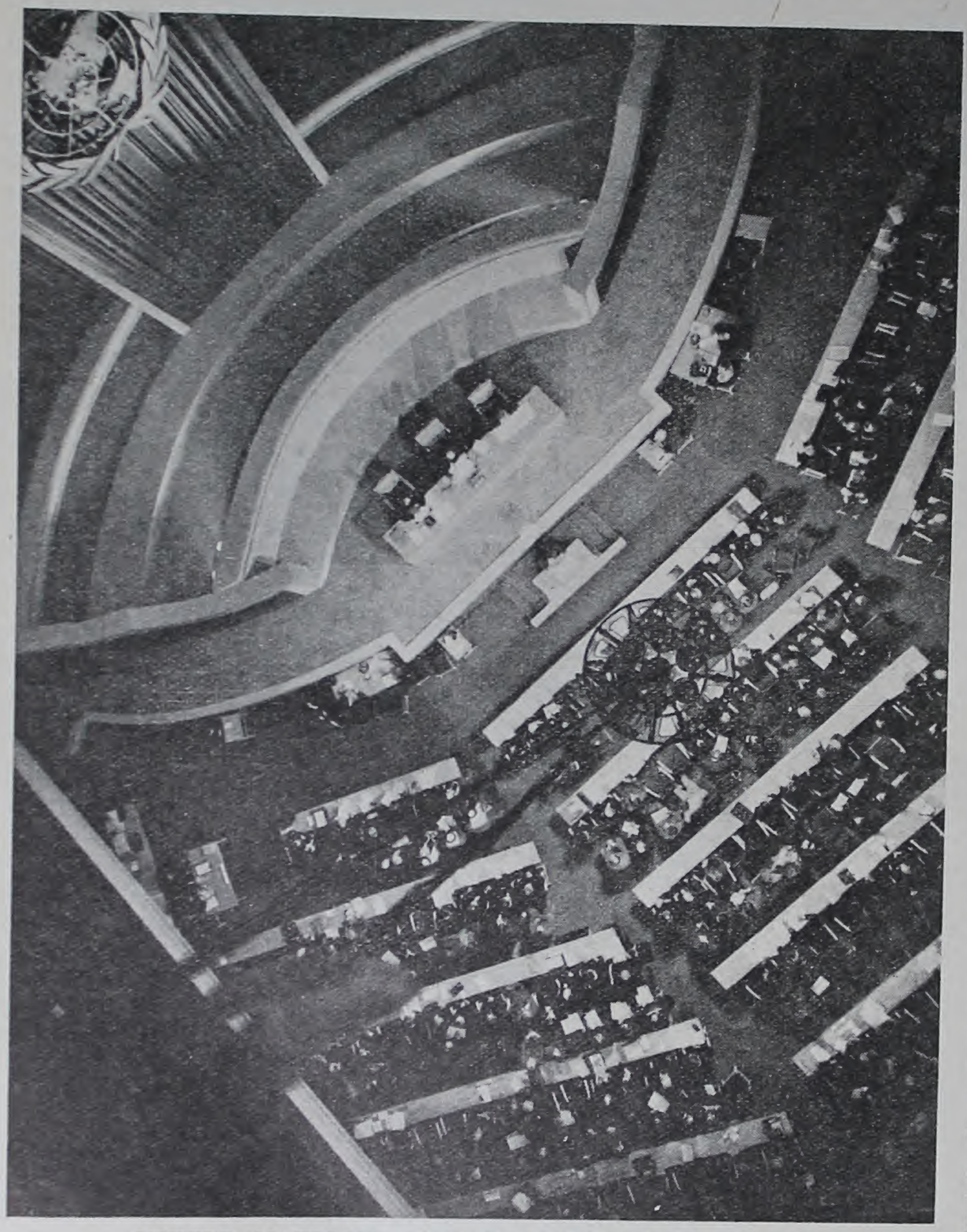
But on the first day the Soviet delegation gave a foretaste of the vigorous and independent policy which it was to pursue during the next six weeks. With the Ukrainian delegation it intervened to prevent the election of Mr. Spaak as President, and put up a new candidate, Mr. Trygve Lie, the Norwegian Foreign Minister. The intervention was unsuccessful, but it startled the members of the Assembly who had supposed that Mr. Spaak's nomination would be unopposed.

After this unexpected start, the six elected members of the important Security Council — Brazil, Australia, Poland, Egypt, Mexico and the Netherlands—were chosen. The first three were to sit for two years, the others for one year. The representatives of these six countries with those of the five Great Powers were very soon to become the centre of world interest. But for the first week the Assembly was given up to a general debate in which the principal delegates spoke of the magnitude and urgency of the tasks which confronted them.

Statement by Mr. Bevin

An important positive contribution was made by Mr. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, who gave a lead by announcing that the British Government intended to transfer the Mandates which it held over Togoland, the Cameroons and Tanganyika to the United Nations Trusteeship system: and intended to grant independence to Transjordania. The Australian and New Zealand delegates followed with similar declarations concerning their Mandates. Mr. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, was more reserved about French intentions, and so was the South African delegate.

When, after this general discussion, the General Assembly split up into



UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY MEETS IN LONDON

First meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations was held in the Central Hall, Westminster, from January 10 – February 13, 1946. It was attended by delegates of the 51 nations which had ratified the United Nations' Charter. The Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, was elected first President. Above, the opening ceremony as seen from the roof: the United Nations emblem is in the top left-hand corner *Photo, Associated Press*

MRS. ROOSEVELT ADDRESSES THE WOMEN DELEGATES

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of President Roosevelt, addressed the first meeting held by the women delegates and advisers to the United Nations conference at Church House, Westminster, on January 4, 1946. On her left is Mrs. Minerva Bernardino, Dominican delegate, and Mrs. E. J. Uralova (White Russia) ; on her right is Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., British Minister of Education. *Photo, Planet News*

directed so passionately against Britain and France that Mr. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, was constrained to accuse him of being "plus royaliste que le roi."

There was to be no compromise this time. A majority of seven members of the Council had adopted a resolution calling for negotiations on the withdrawal of the troops to be begun by France, Britain, Syria and the Lebanon. But at this stage Mr. Vyshinsky intervened and exercised his right of veto. Now the veto was intended to be a piece of machinery which would override a majority decision ; but the British and French Foreign Ministers ingeniously turned the tables so that the majority decision overrode the veto. They both agreed that the Soviet delegate had the right to prevent a formal decision ; but they said the resolution which had been voted clearly showed that the majority of the Council wanted negotiations to be started. They would abide by that decision and begin negotiations.

Majority Decision Accepted

It was on that note that the first memorable meetings of the Security Council ended. Russian policy had suffered a series of set-backs, and when the Council broke up delegates were still wondering why Mr. Vyshinsky had exposed himself to what seemed inevitable defeat in the diplomatic field. "The Times" summed up the discussions of the Council in these words :

"The Western Powers have arrived at a clearer understanding of the essentials of Russian foreign policy, which will recognize no interference with its action over the broad borderland of territory upon which the security of the Soviet Union is held to depend. The Soviet Government on the other hand has received an equally clear intimation that British foreign policy is also founded on clearly determined interests and principles. The vindication of British purposes in the areas of contention discussed by the Council was complete."

Britain Vindicated

While these political issues were being debated so heatedly in the Security Council the Assembly was, more soberly, pressing on with the primarily organizational work. The judges of the International Court of Justice were elected (it was an ironical commentary that when the Court was finally chosen the Assembly had to ask it to give a legal opinion on the legitimacy of the election of the 15th judge). The important post of Secretary-General of the new organization was given to Mr. Trygve Lie, the Norwegian Foreign Minister. The establishment of the Commission on Atomic Energy, to consist of the Security Council together with Canada, when she was not a member of the Council, was approved. The important Economic and Social Council of 18 members was elected and given as one of its major priorities the task of dealing

MEETING OF UNITED NATIONS MILITARY STAFF

The Military Staff Committee of the United Nations consisting of the Chiefs of Staff (or representatives) of Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., France and China, holds its first meeting in London on February 4, 1946. Its function was to advise the Security Council on military matters. Admiral Sir Henry Moore (1) was chairman. Other British representatives are Lieutenant-General Sir Edwin Morris (2) and Air Chief Marshal Sir Guy Garrod (3). *Photo, Topical*

RUSSIAN AND NETHERLANDS DELEGATES

Fifty-one nations were represented at the first meeting of the first General Assembly of the United Nations. Left, Mr. Andrei Vyshinsky, Soviet Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs (wearing spectacles), and Dr. Dmitri Manuilsky, Ukrainian Foreign Commissar. Right (left to right), Professor P. S. Gerbrandy, former Dutch Premier ; Professor W. Schermerhorn, Netherlands Prime Minister ; and Dr. E. N. van Kleffens, Netherlands Foreign Minister.

which it was interested, was being considered. The second was a declaration by Mr. Vyshinsky that the Russian Government would regard it as an affront to Russian dignity if the negotiations had to be conducted under the aegis of the Security Council. As a result the outcome of this, the first appeal to the Security Council, was a statement by the President that the Council, having heard the declarations made by the parties, noted that negotiations were to be begun and asked to be informed of the result.

The discussions also revealed weaknesses in the drafting of the Charter, Article 27 of which provides that (1) each member of the Security Council shall have one vote ; (2) decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of 7 members ; (3) decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of 7 members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members : provided that in decisions under Chapter 6 [Pacific Settlement of Disputes] and under Paragraph 3 of Art. 52 [dealing with regional arrangements] a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting. The Council avoided taking a decision on what precisely differentiated other from procedural matters.

Weakness of Drafting in Charter

When the question of the British forces in Greece came up it became clear that here was a battle *à l'outrance* between Russia and Britain. Mr. Vyshinsky declared that the British forces were being used to establish a Right Wing Government in Greece ; that they constituted a threat to international peace and security and that the Council should recommend their immediate withdrawal. Mr. Bevin, to the shocked surprise of the professional diplomats, gave "the lie direct" to Mr. Vyshinsky's accusation that the troops were being used to assist the Right Wing. He assured the Security Council that they would be withdrawn as soon as stability had been restored in Greece, and the Greek Government asked for them to go ; but he demanded that the British troops and the British Government should be acquitted of the charge of menacing international peace.

The British Foreign Minister himself turned to the attack, and accused the Soviet Government of endangering peace by world-wide anti-British propaganda. Mr. Vyshinsky's case was made more difficult by the Greek delegate who insisted that the British troops were in his country at the request of his government, that this was really a matter of Greek sovereignty and that the last thing that Greece wanted was their withdrawal.

After several days—and nights—of meetings, this stage of the Security Council's business ended with declarations by most of the members that they did not consider the presence of British troops in Greece endangered world peace, and the Council took note of the fact that they would be withdrawn as soon as the purpose for which they were there had been fulfilled. It was another compromise decision ; but the discussions ended on a rather emotional note with Mr. Vyshinsky, Mr. Bevin and Mr. Stettinius, the U.S. delegate, standing with clasped hands while the rest of the Council applauded.

Yet two days later the two main protagonists were at grips again, this time on the Indonesian issue. On this Dr. Manuilsky, the Ukrainian delegate, and Mr. Vyshinsky joined forces in criticizing the use of British troops against what they described as the Indonesian Nationalist Movement, and what Mr. Bevin called extremist Fascist elements which had been armed by the Japanese. Here again the Sovereign power, in this case the Netherlands, spoke of the matter as mainly one of domestic jurisdiction ; and the path to a settlement was smoothed by a declaration from Dr. van Kleffens, the Netherlands Foreign Minister, that negotiations between his government and the Indonesian National Movement were about to begin. Both Russia and the Ukraine pressed for a decision which declared that the British troops were threatening peace, but this the Council refused to give.

Criticism of Britain

There was to be yet another test for the fledgeling Security Council. While these disputes were being heard, the Governments of Syria and the Lebanon had appealed to the Council about the continued presence of French and British troops in their territories. These troops were there largely as a heritage of the war, and, as both the Syrian and Lebanese delegates admitted freely, they were quite satisfied that the British forces would be withdrawn ; they were not so sure about the French. Here again Mr. Vyshinsky's advocacy was

THE KING ENTERTAINS THE UNITED NATIONS

The first State banquet since March 21, 1939—when Mr. Lebrun, then President of France, visited London—was held on January 9, 1946, at St. James's Palace, on the eve of the First General Assembly of the United Nations. At it H.M. the King entertained the delegates to the Assembly. The Diplomatic Corps and nearly all the members of the Cabinet, as well as several ex-Ministers, including Sir John Anderson and Mr. Anthony Eden, were also present. Above, at top table, left to right, Lord Pethick-Lawrence (Secretary for India) ; Dr. Moreno Quintana (Argentina) ; the Earl of Clarendon (the Lord Chamberlain) ; Mr. Manuel Bianchi (Chile) ; the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser (Premier of New Zealand) ; Dr. de Souza Dantas (Brazil) ; Lord Jowitt (the Lord Chancellor) ; Dr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel (Colombia) ; H.M. the King ; Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak (Belgium) ; Mr. C. R. Attlee (British Premier) ; and Mr. James F. Byrnes (U.S.A.). At the table in the foreground, facing the camera, are, left to right, H. E. Kuzma Kiselev (White Russia) ; Colonel G. Codrington ; H. E. Ato Akilu Hafte-Wolde (Ethiopia) ; the Rt. Hon. Sir Alan Lascelles ; Hamid Bey Frangie (Lebanon) ; the Rt. Hon. George A. Isaacs, Minister of Labour and National Service ; H. E. Eduardo Avilez Ramirez (Nicaragua) ; the Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden.

with the problem of refugees on an international scale. Plans were made for the creation of the Trusteeship Council which was to deal with those territories which had not achieved full self-government. The Military Staff Committee of the Security Council—the representatives of the Chiefs of Staffs of the Five Great Powers—was called together to begin planning the armed forces which were to be the Council's teeth. The first budget for $21,500,000 was voted, and the respective contributions of the various countries assessed.

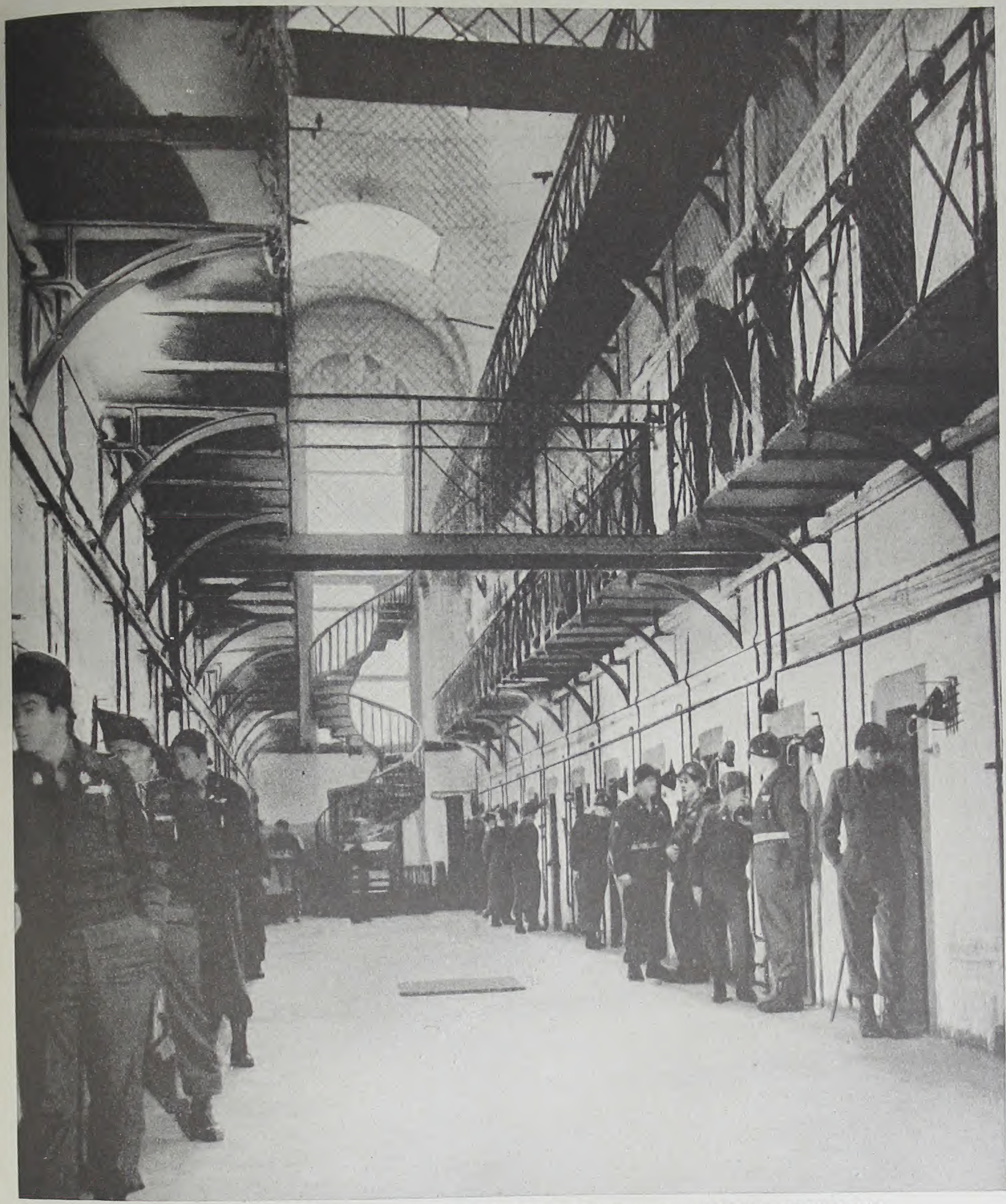
Gradually, the complicated and closely interlocked structure began to take shape as the experts, the politicians and their advisers, basing themselves partly on the experience of Geneva, partly on the dictates of common sense, built up the machinery of the new organization which to a war-worn world seemed the only hope of a lasting and secure peace.

Occasionally, perhaps, some of these builders cocked an attentive ear to the disputes going on in the Security Council ; but if they did they probably felt more than ever the need for international machinery to deal with international problems and disputes on an international plane. And it was perhaps a timely reminder that the first half of the first General Assembly of the United Nations should end on a note of grim warning. For on February 13, 1946, the day before the Assembly adjourned, its proceedings were suspended so that the delegates of the Five Great Powers, agreed on this at least, could call attention to the grave shortage of food which threatened the world.

They called for international action to prevent waste and to increase production. Mr. Bevin, who introduced the resolution, said: "This is not a question of a dispute between nations. It is a question of the intervention of Nature itself . . . The period in front of us must be dealt with as a crisis period. In other words it is another war, and we must fight on until we defeat the enemy—Famine!"

Attention Called to Food Shortage

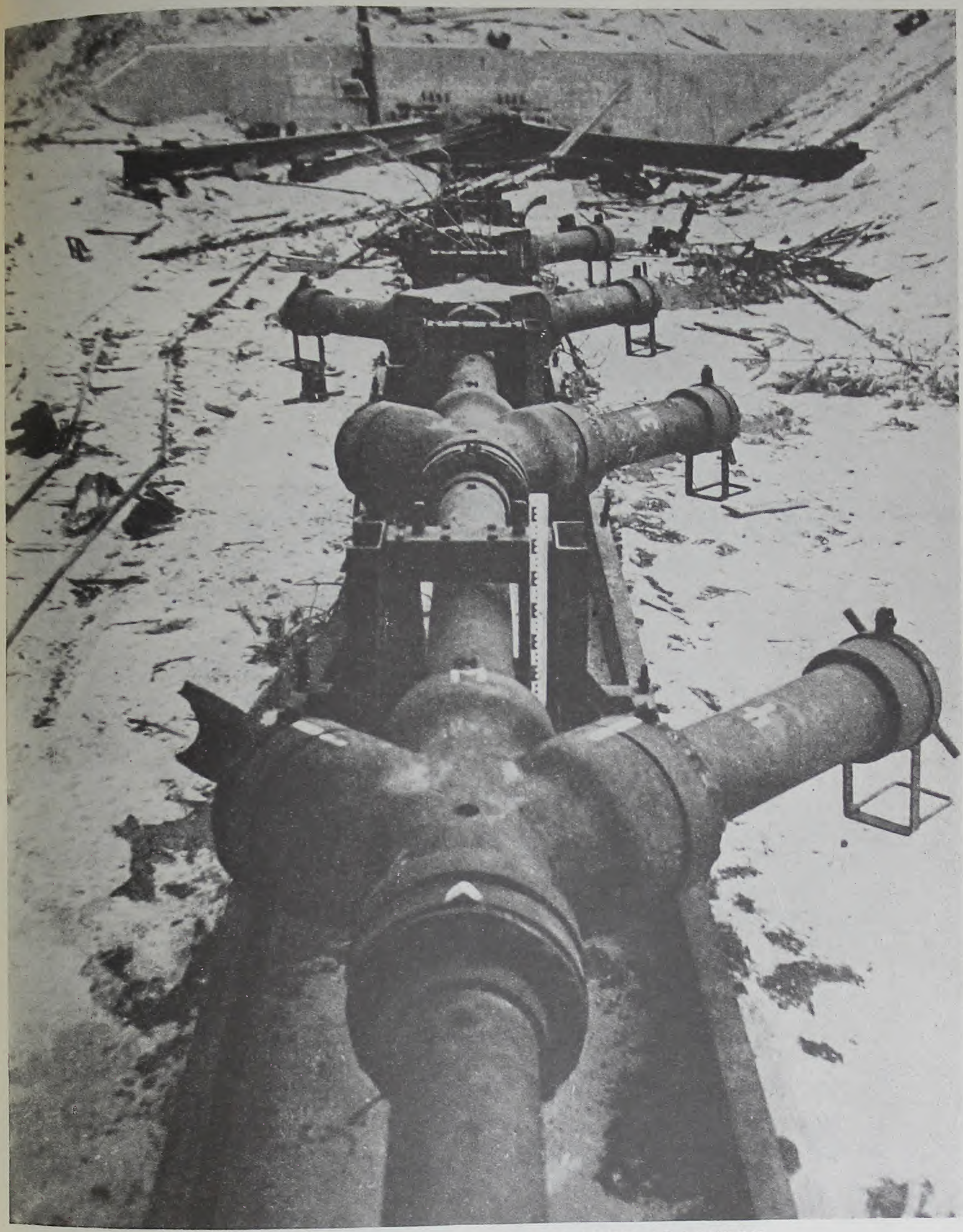
It was with this sombre warning ringing in their ears that the representatives of the 51 nations adjourned until the following autumn. But it was not an adjournment in the usual sense because for the first time since the collapse of the League of Nations they left behind them an international machine which was designed to deal with just such problems as this.



KEEPING CLOSE WATCH ON THE NUREMBERG PRISONERS

Before an International Tribunal at Nuremberg on November 20, 1945, began the public trial of twenty of Germany's major war leaders (see Chapter 386). Those arraigned included Goering, Hess, Ribbentrop, Streicher, Schacht, Papen, Admirals Doenitz and Raeder and Field-Marshal Keitel. President of the Tribunal was Lord Justice Lawrence. This is the main section of the prisoners' block in Nuremberg jail, showing cells occupied by Goering and Hess at extreme right. While awaiting trial, Robert Ley committed suicide on October 25, in spite of the fact that the sentries peered into each prisoner's cell every 30 seconds. *Photo, New York Times*

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS MEETS IN WESTMINSTER
An urgent problem facing the organizers of the United Nations meetings in war-damaged London was that of finding a suitable building. Eventually, the First General Assembly met (from January 10–February 13, 1946) in the Central Hall, Westminster. Built in 1910, it is the headquarters of the Methodist Church in Britain. This view from the balcony of the hall during the meeting of the General Assembly shows some of the United Nations' flags. In the right background lie Central Buildings, whose archway leads to Church House, in Dean's Yard, where the Security Council met



THIS 'SECRET WEAPON' WAS AIMED AT LONDON

Many of Hitler's 'secret weapons' were put into production too late, and so were never used. Among those discovered by the Allied armies advancing in Normandy in 1944 were these mysterious 400-feet 'gas pipes' dug deep into the Channel cliffs on the French coast. Incapable of either elevation or transverse movement, they were trained directly on London and were designed to fire a sub-calibre, fin-stabilized projectile, 92 inches long. The lateral pipes were to act as booster-chambers to provide additional propelling gases. (See also Chapter 337.) *Photo, Keystone*

TROOPS OF THE BRITISH TENTH ARMY LEAVE PERSIA'S CAPITAL

Photo, British Official

To withstand the threat of a German invasion of Persia through the Caucasus, a separate British Army Command was established in Persia and Iraq in September 1942. Its main tasks were to secure from attack the oil fields and to ensure the transport from the Persian Gulf of supplies to Russia. Main force under the Command was the British 10th Army which included, besides British, Polish, Indian and Iraqi troops. **Here, motor vehicles of** the Royal Sussex Regiment drive down the Avenue Shah Reza when the 10th Army evacuated Teheran in September-October 1945.

JUSTICE IS DONE UPON GERMAN WAR CRIMINALS

On September 30 and October 1, 1946, at Nuremberg, the International Military Tribunal (*see* Chapter 386), pronounced judgement upon the indicted Nazi leaders. Twelve were found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging ; seven were found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from ten years to a life term. Three were acquitted and discharged. Vital extracts from the judgement, and individual sentences are given below

THE JUDGEMENT

A common Nazi plan to prepare and wage war had existed.

Certain defendants had planned and waged aggressive war against 12 nations.

War crimes had been committed by Germany on the High Seas and in every country occupied by her.

The Germans had also been proved guilty of committing crimes against humanity.

The Leadership Corps of the Nazi party, or a specified group thereof, *was a criminal organization* within the meaning of the Charter of the Tribunal.

The S.S. [the Nazi Black Guard] *was such a criminal organization.*

The Reich Cabinet, as such, could not be declared a criminal organization.

The S.A. [Brown Shirt Storm Troops] was not a criminal organization within the meaning of the Charter.

The German General Staff and High Command was not a criminal organization within the meaning of the Charter.

The Tribunal found that the Nazi leadership *was guilty on all four counts*—conspiracy, crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

The responsibility could not fall on Hitler alone, but on his military chiefs, his statesmen and those business men who co-operated with him. Such people could not shelter behind official positions to be freed from punishment. Similarly, members of organizations not adjudged criminal can be tried for individual acts.

The war crimes were committed on a scale " never before seen in the history of war," and in particular the persecution of the Jews was a record of consistent and systematic inhumanity on the greatest scale.

INDIVIDUAL DEFENDANTS

GOERING: 'There is nothing to be said in mitigation. Goering was often in deed, and almost always in words and thoughts, second only to his leader. On some specific cases there may be a conflict of evidence, but in terms of the broad outline his own admissions are more than sufficient to be conclusive proof of his guilt. His guilt is unique in its enormity.'

RIBBENTROP: 'He assisted in trying out criminal policies, particularly involving the extermination of the Jews. There is abundant evidence, moreover, that Ribbentrop was in complete sympathy with all the main tenets of the National Socialist creed. His collaboration with Hitler, and his intention in the commission of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity were wholehearted.'

HESS: 'He may have had knowledge of war crimes committed in the east even if he did not participate. The Tribunal, however, did not find that the evidence sufficiently connected Hess with these crimes to sustain a finding of guilt.'

SCHACHT: 'It is clear that Schacht was the central figure in Germany's rearmament programme and that the steps which he took, particularly in the early days of the Nazi regime, were responsible for Nazi Germany's rapid rise as a military power. On the other hand, Schacht, with his intimate knowledge of German finance, was in a peculiarly good position to understand the true significance of Hitler's rearmament, and realized that the economic policy adopted was consistent only with war.'

PAPEN: 'Under the Charter, Papen can be held guilty only if he was a party to the fostering of aggressive war. There is no evidence that he was a party to the plans under which the Austrians were to be the victims of further aggressive action, or even that he participated in plans to occupy Austria by aggressive war itself. It is not established beyond reasonable doubt that this was the purpose of his activities, and therefore the Tribunal cannot prove that he was a party to the common plan under count 1 or that he participated in the aggressive war charged under count 2.'

KEITEL: 'For defence he relies on the fact that he was a soldier and acted under superior orders. Superior orders even given to a soldier cannot be considered in mitigation where crimes so extensive have been committed casually, ruthlessly, and without any military excuse or justification.'

JODL: 'He was the arch-planner of the war and responsible in large measure for the conduct of operations. He was active on the planning against Greece and Yugoslavia and took part in all the conferences preceding the invasion of Russia. Jodl also signed the order to shoot commandos and prisoners of war, the first draft of which was drawn up by his staff. There is little evidence that Jodl was actively connected with the slave labour programme.'

THE VERDICTS AND SENTENCES

The following were found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging :

Hermann Wilhelm Goering. Guilty on all four counts, which were : 1, Common plan or conspiracy to wage aggressive war ; 2, Crimes against peace ; 3, War crimes ; 4, Crimes against humanity.

Joachim Ribbentrop. Guilty on all counts.

Wilhelm Keitel. Guilty on all counts.

Ernst Kaltenbrunner. Guilty on counts 3 and 4.

Alfred Rosenberg. Guilty on all counts.

Hans Frank. Guilty on counts 3 and 4.

Wilhelm Frick. Guilty on counts 2, 3 and 4.

Julius Streicher. Guilty on count 4.

Fritz Sauckel. Guilty on counts 3 and 4.

Alfred Jodl. Guilty on all counts.

Arthur Seyss-Inquart. Guilty on counts 2, 3 and 4

Martin Bormann. Guilty on counts 3 and 4. Bormann was sentenced *in absentia*, since he was not apprehended by the authorities, and there was a strong presumption of his death.

The following accused were found guilty on various counts of the indictment and sentenced to terms of imprisonment :

Rudolf Hess. Guilty on counts 1 and 2. LIFE.

Walter Funk. Guilty on counts 2, 3 and 4. LIFE.

Erich Raeder. Guilty on counts 1, 2 and 3. LIFE.

Baldur Schirach. Guilty on count 4. TWENTY YEARS.

Albert Speer. Guilty on counts 3 and 4. TWENTY YEARS.

Constantin Neurath. Guilty on all counts. FIFTEEN YEARS.

Karl Doenitz. Guilty on counts 2 and 3. TEN YEARS.

Three of the accused were found not guilty on the counts of the indictment with which they were charged. They were therefore discharged.

Hjalmar Schacht. Charged on counts 1 and 2. NOT GUILTY.

Franz von Papen. Charged on counts 1 and 2. NOT GUILTY.

Hans Fritzsche. Charged on counts 1, 3 and 4. NOT GUILTY.

Two other defendants had been indicted : **Robert Ley** and **Gustav Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach.** Ley committed suicide in prison on October 25, 1945. As to Krupp, the Tribunal on Nov. 15, 1945, decided that he could not then be tried, because of his mental and physical condition ; the charges against him were retained for trial thereafter if his physical and mental condition should permit.

German U-boats, which had been absent at the time of the landings, were now becoming active.

Stubborn German defence halted the Allied advance all along the Gustav Line. The battle for Cassino had begun; its capture came after the operations described in this dispatch, the obstacles created by the heavy Allied bombing and shelling of the town proving too difficult to overcome at the moment in face of the enemy's continued obstinate defence of the rubble.

WESTERN EUROPE
JUNE 1944—MAY 1945

Report by the Supreme Commander (General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower) to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Operations in Europe of the Allied Expeditionary Force. *(See Chapters 311, 314, 320, 325, 332, 336, 349, 357, 369)*

GENERAL EISENHOWER tells the history of the planning and execution of his West European campaign in considerable and fascinating detail. Here we extract a few of the many fresh facts which his report discloses.

"The chain of Atlantic and Channel ports from Bordeaux to Antwerp was under orders from Hitler himself to fight to the last man and the last round of ammunition," and this led to one notable departure from the plan of campaign under which "a primary objective had been the capture of the Brittany ports, through which it was intended to introduce the further divisions from the United States necessary to insure the completion of the German defeat." Instead, "following the collapse of the enemy's west flank at the end of July," Eisenhower decided "to concentrate upon encircling and destroying his forces in Normandy and to use almost the whole of our available strength in order to attain his object." "Events demonstrated that the decision to throw the maximum weight into the Normandy struggle rather than detach substantial forces to lay siege to the Brittany ports was fully justified. . . . The German armies in Normandy were broken as an effective fighting force, and our way across France was opened."

SUPREME H.Q. ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. *Sword of Liberation on black; rainbow above with blue field.*

The initial landing "achieved a degree of tactical surprise for which we had hardly dared to hope," and behind the coastal defences "there was no secondary defence line to check our invading armies if they should succeed in penetrating beyond the beach area," so confident was the enemy in the strength of his "Atlantic wall." A similar experience awaited the invader in Germany itself, where "so completely had the Germans relied upon their ability to hold out in the Siegfried Line that east of the Rhine there were no artificial barriers ready to halt our progress other than hastily constructed local defence works."

SUPREME COMMANDER

General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower, D.S.M. (U.S.), G.C.B. (Hon.), O.M., Order of Suvorov (U.S.S.R.). He was Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean in 1943, and in 1944-45 was Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Western Europe. This photograph was taken while he inspected the ruins of Bastogne in February 1945.

The German troops which faced the landing parties were composed of men either under 20 or over 45, and "their morale was not of the best: the lavishness of the defences and the concrete protection to their underground living quarters had produced a 'Maginot Line complex,' and having gone below when the bombing began they were not prepared for so prompt a landing when the bombs stopped falling." On the other hand, as the Rhine was approached, despite casualties by then totalling 1,500,000, "German troops continued to put up strong resistance, battling with a stubbornness and Teutonic fury born of the desperate knowledge that they were fighting on their own 'holy soil.' . . ." But their strength was broken, as the Allies had hoped and planned that it should be, before the Rhine was reached, and that barrier, "the greatest natural obstacle with which the Allies had been faced since the landing in France," was breached in accordance with a plan "basically the same as that envisaged in our long-term plans even before D Day," and with losses that were "fantastically small."

Of the slow realization by the enemy of the nature of the initial landings, General Eisenhower says, "It was not until 16·40 hours that the German 7th Army learned of the Utah seaborne assault, having previously received reassuring reports as to the progress being made against the airborne forces dropped in that area. Meanwhile at noon, the German LXXXIV Corps had optimistically, but prematurely, announced that the attempted landings by the V Corps troops at St. Laurent had been completely smashed. Thanks to such misinformation and to a faulty estimate of the situation, 7th Army decided by the evening of D Day that the landings near the Orne constituted the chief danger in the area so far invaded. . . . This estimate of the situation dominated the enemy's policy, with fatal results, during the ensuing days."

The Supreme Commander's explanation of why Mulberry 'A'—the harbour destined for the use of the Americans—failed to be used is tragic in its simplicity: "By 19 June, the Mulberries were about 90 per cent completed, and over 2,000 tons of stores a day were being handled in the British harbour alone. On that day, 19 June, broke the great storm which at one time seemed certain to bring all our work to disaster. The weather had been unsettled since D Day, but the on-shore gale which now blew up was the worst known in June for 40 years past. The Mulberries took the full force of the mountainous seas driven by the gale . . . The storm continued for four days. . . . To add to our troubles, the enemy's new Oyster mines were activated by the movement of the waters. . . . By 21 June, the Mulberries themselves began to disintegrate, particularly the U.S. installation. . . . Only the blockships saved the situation from becoming one of complete disaster. . . . Some 800 craft were stranded on the beaches. . . . Some 700 were eventually refloated, but the resulting shortage of ferry craft hampered us throughout the summer. Of the Mulberries themselves, that at St. Laurent was so shattered as to be irreparable. The main Phoenix breakwater was broken and the blockships had sunk some ten to twelve feet below their original level."

Tragedy of Mulberry Harbour

Among the most interesting points in the report are the references to contact with the Russians. "Our first liaison with Moscow had been effected late in

Appendix 1

DISPATCHES FROM MILITARY COMMANDERS

Outstanding facts from three Reports from Supreme Allied Commanders to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and fourteen Dispatches from British Commanders to the Secretaries of State for War and Air, all published between May and October 1946. Field-Marshal Lord Gort's Dispatches on the B.E.F. from Sept. 1939 to May 1940 are dealt with in Chapters 147 and 148. Information contained in the Reports of the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army (July 1943–June 1945), and the Commanding General of the U.S. Army Air Forces (1944), to the Secretary of War is incorporated in the relevant Campaign Chapters of the Second Great War

Maps by courtesy of The Daily Telegraph

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN
JANUARY—MAY 1944

Report by the Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean (Field-Marshal Baron Wilson of Libya), to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Italian Campaign.
(See Chapter 302.)

THE Italian campaign, initiated by General Eisenhower, developed during his three months' direction the features that continued to characterize it: slow, painful advance through difficult terrain against a determined and resourceful enemy. Several small amphibious operations to turn the enemy's flanks were considered—one at Termoli proved encouragingly successful, but a plan to land a small force by sea at Formia in the Gulf of Gaeta had to be cancelled the day before it should have been launched, because the Navy considered it too hazardous an undertaking on account of heavy minelaying by the enemy immediately prior to the intended date of the operation.

ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS
White lettering on blue: red border.

When General Maitland Wilson took over it had become clear that a determined landing behind the enemy's main defence line was "a pressing necessity" in order to obtain passage to Rome. But availability of landing craft was a permanently limiting factor, not only in the Mediterranean, but throughout all the Allied theatres of war. In October 1943, of 90 L.S.T.s operational in the Mediterranean theatre, 68 were due to sail for the United Kingdom almost at once in preparation for the invasion of France; of 201 L.C.T.s, 129 were scheduled to sail to the United Kingdom or India. Difficulties of a similar nature arose over the airborne force to be used: the only suitable team, the 504th Parachute Regiment of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, was due to sail for the United Kingdom early in January to refit and train for the forthcoming invasion of north France.

Permission to retain the 68 L.S.T.s. until January 15, 1944 was given; but the date of the proposed landing at Anzio had to be postponed from December 20, 1943, owing to the slowness of the 5th Army's advance. Permission for a further retention of 56 L.S.T.s was obtained, and on January 7 the landing was set for January 22. On January 8 General Alexander met Mr. Churchill at Marrakech (where he was recuperating from an illness), "and means were found to provide the required extra 24 L.S.T.s for the maintenance of the beach-head force until the end of February."

Heavy stores and equipment were loaded in Algiers on eight Liberty ships, to avoid unnecessary congestion in the port of Naples whence the assault task force of 243 vessels, under the command of Admiral Lowry, U.S.N., set sail at 05·00 hours on January 21 under perfect weather conditions. The assault forces, under the command of Major-General Lucas, consisted of some 50,000 U.S. and British troops and more than 5,000 vehicles. The voyage was uneventful and no interception or reconnaissance was made by the enemy. The convoy arrived off Anzio at 00·05 hours on January 22. The port of Anzio was captured before it could be destroyed. Nettuno also was completely in Allied hands in the early afternoon, and before last light the channel had been cleared of mines and the port opened to landing-craft.

Initial opposition was negligible: by midnight on January 22, 90 per cent of personnel and equipment of the assault convoy (36,034 men, 3,069 vehicles and a large quantity of stores) had been put ashore. By 16·00 hours on January 23 the entire British 1st Division and U.S. 3rd Division at assault scales had been landed.

MEDITERRANEAN COMMANDER

Field-Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.S.O., Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre, 1944. From a drawing by Simon Elwes at an Exhibition of South African Middle East War Paintings at the National Portrait Gallery, London, in May 1943.
By kind permission of the artist

A German Special Order from Hitler captured on January 24 read, "The Gustav Line must be held at all costs for the sake of the political consequences which would follow a completely successful defence. The Führer expects the bitterest struggle for every yard." While implementing this order, Field-Marshal Kesselring built up also a strong counter-attack force to drive the Allies back into the sea and eliminate the threat to Rome. By February 1, the beach-head forces were confronted by the equivalent of five enemy divisions supported by 42 batteries of artillery, Allied thrusts had been blunted and the attack had lost impetus. All parts of the beach-head were under shell fire, and after shelling had destroyed 24 aircraft on the ground, the one Spitfire Squadron was withdrawn, and the

"Hold the Gustav Line"

1944 when air operations necessitated the establishment of a co-ordinated bomb-line, but . . . up to the end of 1944 I had received no information on matters affecting the Russian grand strategy, although I had expressed my willingness to afford any such information concerning my own overall plans as the Red Army might desire. At Christmas time, however, following upon a message which I sent to the Combined Chiefs of Staff explaining the difficulty with which I was faced in attempting to evolve plans while still ignorant of Russian intentions, President Roosevelt secured from Marshal Stalin his agreement to receive our representative in order to discuss the correlation of our respective efforts in the forthcoming spring. Accordingly, in January, my deputy, Air Chief Marshal Tedder, journeyed to Moscow for this purpose. Marshal Stalin was acquainted with the nature of our own plans, including the timing. He, in turn, responded with a full explanation of the great four-pronged offensive which the Red Army was preparing to launch."

" With the approach of our respective forces from east and west, it was now essential that operations on the two fronts should be co-ordinated, and necessary to learn something of the Russians' intentions in order to know best how to exploit such success as our own plan of campaign might achieve. I therefore informed Marshal Stalin of my general plan to strike first in the centre and subsequently to effect a link-up with his forces in the Regensburg–Linz area with a view to neutralizing the Redoubt. Marshal Stalin replied that this scheme coincided entirely with the Russian plans in respect to both the central and southern sectors."

Russians Told of Plans

" One of our principal anxieties concerned the mutual identification of our respective forces, both in the air and on the ground. Already, at the beginning of April, our tactical air forces had come into contact and shots had been mistakenly exchanged, and we considered it of the utmost importance that all possible arrangements should be made to insure proper recognition in order to prevent errors and possibly tragic incidents which might result in later recriminations. Following recommendations by the Army Group commanders, a system of recognition signs and signals was eventually arranged by 20 April " and " on 25 April patrols of 273rd Regiment, 69th Division, under V Corps met elements of the Russian 58th Guards Division in the Torgau area."

Considering the slight nature of the relations between eastern and western commanders, the admirable complementary timing of their respective blows seems little short of miraculous.

SOUTHERN FRANCE
AUGUST 1944

Report by the Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean (Field Marshal Baron Wilson of Libya) to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Operations in Southern France. (*See Chapter 320*)

THE decision to make a major assault on southern France was taken at the conference of Combined Chiefs of Staff held in Cairo late in November 1943, and was subsequently embodied in agreements with Russia reached at the Teheran Conference. To provide the necessary landing-craft to support two assaults on France, the Combined Chiefs of Staff postponed amphibious operations in the Bay of Bengal, tentatively scheduled for 1944 to 1945. On December 6, 1943, the target for operations in both north and south France was set provisionally for the " most suitable date during May 1944."

" The major problem, not only in the Mediterranean, but in every theatre, was the shortage of assault shipping," says General Wilson, and this shortage led in the end to the decision to stage the Mediterranean landings two months after those in Normandy in order that shipping could be released from the north for use in the south.

Amphibious operations against western France, following the breakout into Brittany, or at the head of the Adriatic Sea were proposed as alternatives to the landing in southern France, and General Wilson " recommended from the Mediterranean viewpoint that the strategy best calculated to assist the success of General Eisenhower's operations would be continuation of General Alexander's land advance to the Po Valley and the Ljubljana Gap, with the assistance of amphibious operations against Trieste in September." This plan would " hold out hope of achieving a decisive strategic threat to southern Germany before the end of the year." But General Eisenhower " was firm in his desire for the operation against France, because France was the decisive theatre and additional ports must be acquired for the deployment of reinforcements from the United States in that theatre." General Wilson " was to exercise operational control over the forces after the landings until such time as General Eisenhower was able to assume this responsibility, the date of the transfer to be decided in future conference between us."

Since February 1 the Germans had been building up defences along the entire south coast of France from Cap Benat to Agay Roads, and beach obstacles had been increased. General Wilson asked and obtained additional naval strength, " not because of any significant enemy naval threat, which had been removed once and for all by the surrender of the Italian fleet, but in order to augment our naval fire power against coast defence batteries." Ships and craft of all types to participate in the assault numbered 2,110. Naples was the principal mounting port, but Oran, Taranto and Brindisi were also used. The Airborne Division took off from bases in the Rome area. It overcame all navigational difficulties, and the combined landing casualty figures for parachute and glider troops were roughly 3 per cent.

" The carefully synchronized programme of naval and air bombardment which preceded the assault landings achieved an almost complete neutralization of shore batteries."

Enemy Surprised

Only at one beach, in the St. Raphael area, was there artillery fire serious enough to necessitate the use of an alternative landing beach, although " the enemy was certainly not taken by surprise by the actual fact of an Allied landing ; but his Intelligence was almost totally wrong as to its exact timing and as to the target area," Allied activities " encouraging him to regard Genoa as the most probable objective."

By midday of D plus 1, " the attack was a full day ahead of schedule," and General Wilson's forecast of operations dispatched to the Prime Minister on August 7 predicting the capture of Toulon by September 4, of Marseilles by September 24 proved " unduly pessimistic " : despite the bitter resistance of the German garrisons in both towns, they were in Allied hands during the second week of the invasion. Enemy forces, in fact, had been drawn off from the south by the success of the northern invasion, instead of being drawn off, as originally intended, from the north by the southern invasion.

SOMALILAND, 1939-40

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on Sept. 12, 1940, by Gen. Sir Archibald P. Wavell, K.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., C.-in-C. Middle East. (*See Chapter 108*)

FROM 1931 to 1939 the military garrison of British Somaliland numbered 14 British officers, 400 African Askaris, and 150 African reservists. This force, the Somaliland Camel Corps, comprised in 1939 two

Camel Companies (which included two Pony Troops), and one (Nyasaland) Rifle Company. The frontier with Italian-occupied Abyssinia was 750 miles long.

Plans were made for a joint defence, in case of attack by Italy, of British and French Somaliland, but not till May 15, 1940 did the 1st Battalion Northern Rhodesia Regiment of the King's African Rifles reach Berbera; the 2nd Battalion did not arrive until July 12.

Difficulties of Defence

It was impossible to obtain funds for defences or roads; not till June 1940 was administrative control of Somaliland taken over from the Colonial Office by Middle East Command; and as late as April 1940 Wavell was refused permission to send Intelligence officers over the frontier to obtain information about Italian dispositions. British Somaliland was 2,000 miles from Cairo. There were insufficient aircraft for the many tasks in hand, and often not one to spare for intercommunication; no regular mail service; and letters often took a month to reach Somaliland.

The French armistice resulted in the breakdown of the arrangements for French-British collaboration. General Legentilhomme, in command in French Somaliland, and determined to fight on, was displaced on July 23 by General Germain, sent by the Vichy government by plane, who withdrew French forces from their defensive position in the Pass of Jirre, through which an Italian force estimated at two battalions with 30 motor vehicles advanced.

One Indian battalion (1/2 Punjab Regiment) reached British Somaliland from Aden in the first days of July; the 1st East African Light Battery as well as the 2nd Battalion K.A.R. arrived from Kenya on July 12; the 2nd Battalion the Black Watch arrived on August 7. But superior enemy forces advanced across the frontier at several points, and on August 19 evacuation of British Somaliland was completed by the destruction of the principal Government buildings at Berbera.

CENTRAL NORWAY

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on May 13, 1940, by Lt.-Gen. H. R. S. Massy, D.S.O., M.C., C.-in-C. North-West Expeditionary Force.
(See Chapter 78)

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL MASSY, appointed C.-in-C. of the Allied forces in Central Norway on April 19, 1940, "exercised this command from his Headquarters in the United Kingdom, as the course of events did not permit the opening of a Headquarters in Norway." He had as his objects to stop the German advance from Oslo and then to plan a combined operation for the capture of Trondheim.

* V CORPS
White galley: red cross on sail: on black

When General Massy assumed direct control on April 22, Brigadier H. de R. Morgan, D.S.O., with the 148th Infantry Brigade, was in the area south of Trondheim, while Major-General Carton de Wiart, V.C., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., was in the Namsos area north of Trondheim in command of Brigadier C. G. Phillips's 146th Infantry Brigade and one demi-brigade of Chasseurs Alpins commanded by General Audet. Major-General B. C. T. Paget, D.S.O., M.C., was selected to command the British forces south of Trondheim: he arrived at Andalsnes on the evening of April 25.

Both Namsos and Andalsnes were being regularly bombed (both were eventually completely destroyed), and the Allied forces north and south of Trondheim had been forced to make withdrawals; but, says General Massy, "should adequate air support be available, I had no reason to suppose that we could not hold our existing positions against the Germans, and at a later date eject them from Trondheim."

The only Allied air support, however, was provided by fighters from H.M.S. "Ark Royal" and "Glorious." On the evening of the 24th, the 263rd Fighter Squadron R.A.F. (18 Gladiators) landed on frozen Lake Lesjaskog, but they were spotted and attacked immediately, and the attempt to establish land-based air support failed.

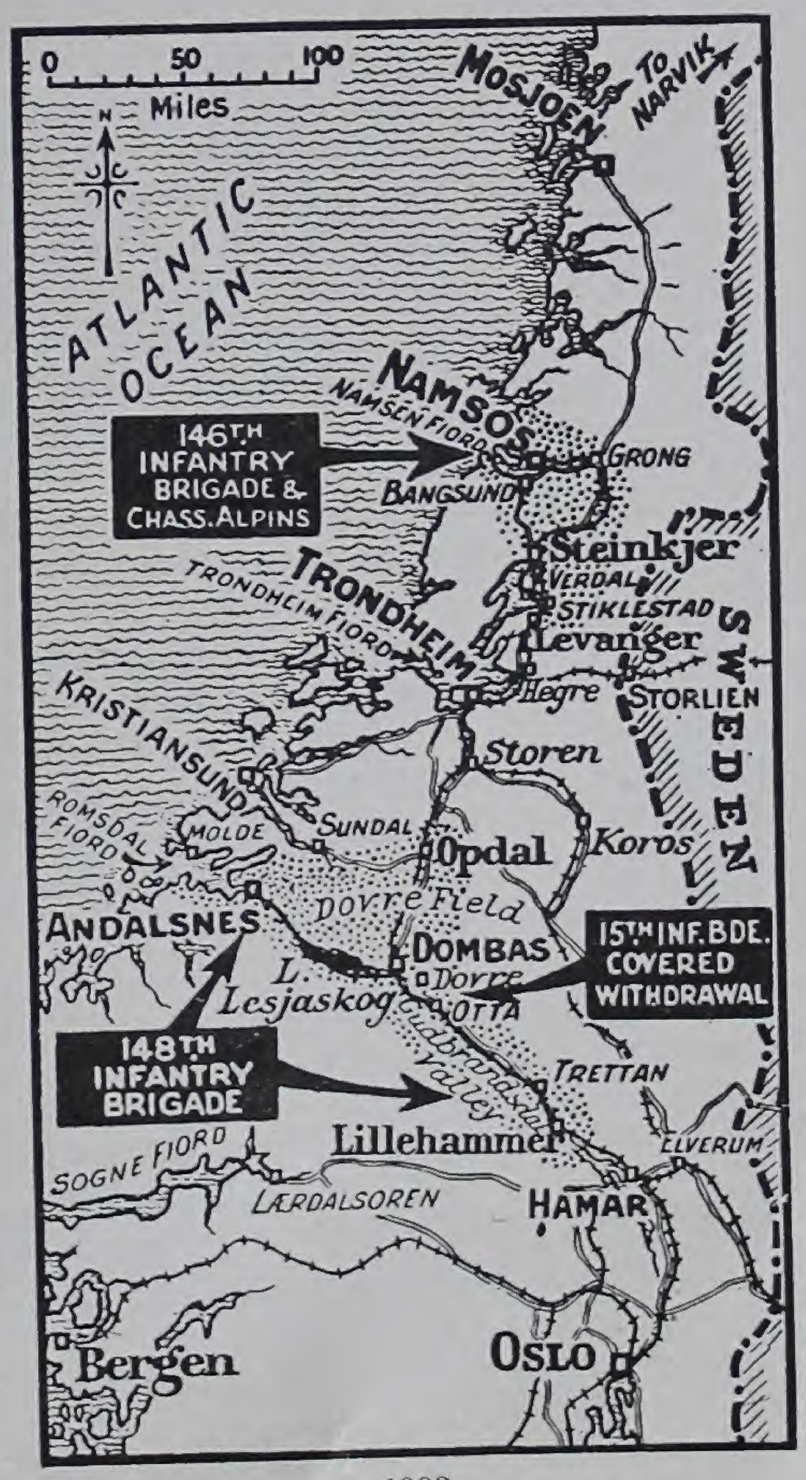
On April 26 "it became increasingly obvious that in the face of artillery and mortar fire and incessant bombing, to none of which the Allied troops could effectively reply, the German advance could not be stopped. . . . During the afternoon it became evident to me that the chance of our getting any air support which could enable us to compete with the German air menace had vanished. I was convinced that evacuation would therefore be necessary."

Arrangements for Evacuation

The Military Co-ordinating Committee agreed to evacuation, and during the 28th plans were concerted with Admiralty representatives and orders were issued to both General Carton de Wiart and General Paget. Evacuation of the French was begun on the night of April 28–29. Orders were sent that when Namsos was evacuated a rearguard should fall back on Mosjoen to delay the enemy's advance, another party being sent there by sea; but General de Wiart deemed the land route impossible and no withdrawal by land took place: it was assumed that the Germans could not advance by this route either—an error of judgement, as they made full use of the route, and by May 13 it was "more than likely that we should not be able to hold the place."

In the early hours of April 30, 340, mostly wounded, were embarked on H.M.S. "Fleetwood" from Andalsnes, and at 19.00 hours H.M.S. "Janus" embarked 100 men and two Bofors guns at Namsos and conveyed them to Mosjoen, where they arrived on May 2, having been delayed by dense fog which also prevented ships entering Namsos harbour on May 1. The evacuation of Namsos, however, was successfully carried out on the night of May 2–3, the last ship leaving at 02.20 hours, a total of 5,400 having been embarked. The convoy was continually bombed on its journey across the North Sea. No transport was lost, "but the French destroyer 'Bison' and H.M.S. 'Afridi' were sunk fighting to the end. The losses might well have been far heavier, for there were no air forces supporting the convoy." The force of some 1,700 evacuated from Andalsnes

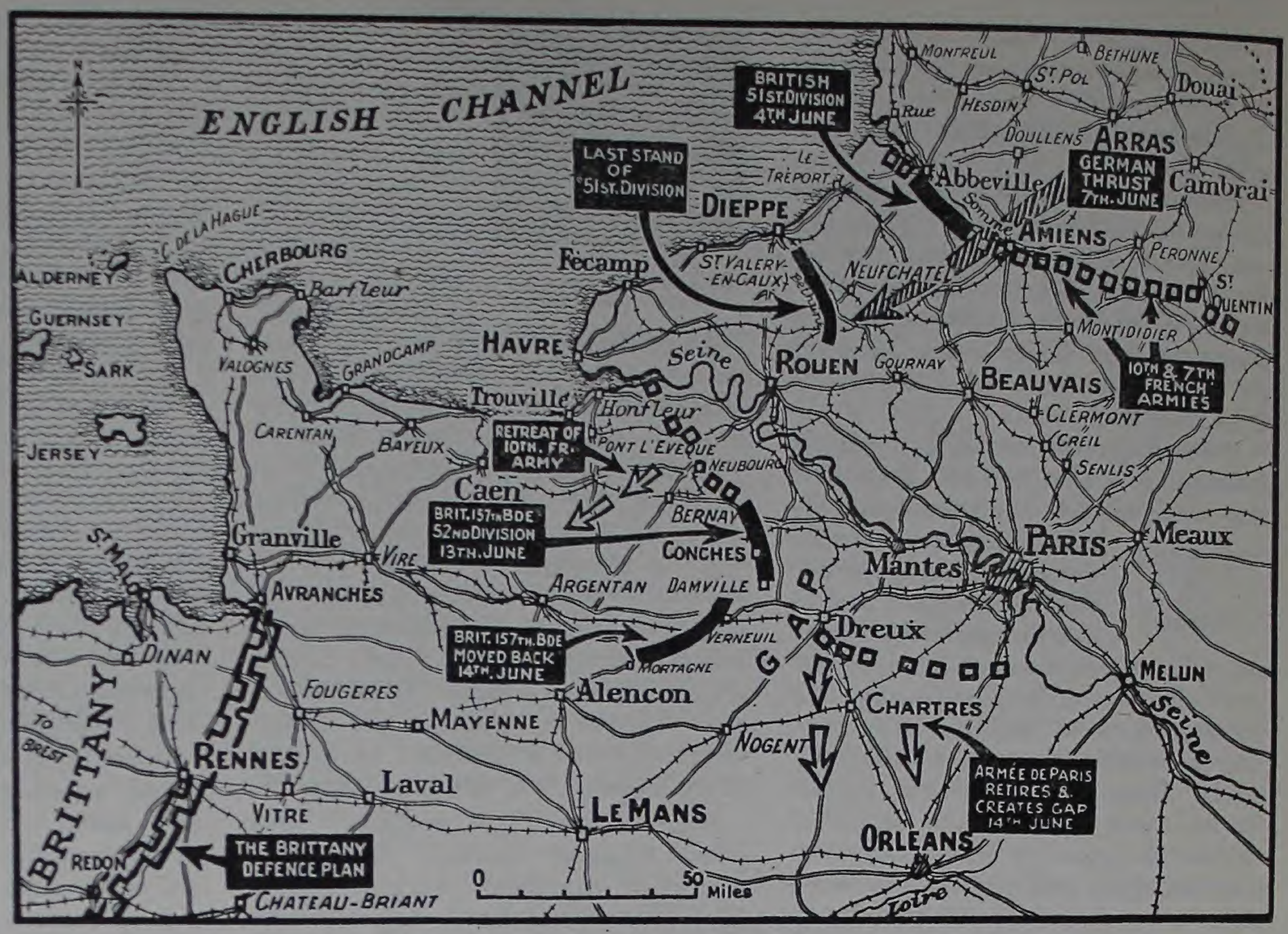
* *V Corps formed part of N.W.E.F. in Norway, 1940*



was embarked unmolested, though it had been subjected to a number of "incidents" in its move from Lillehammer and other positions in the Gudbrandsdal.

Not only had the Allied forces in Central Norway no air cover, but the detailed list of forces allotted to the operations shows that most of the artillery, the medical units, and a large proportion of the R.E. Division which should have been with them were still en route or had not started when it was decided to withdraw the force.

In the light of later events, General Massy's comments on the operation are of special interest: "I have no hesitation in saying that a degree of co-operation between the Army and the Air Force, comparable to that which is now the case with Germans, is essential if we are not to remain at a dangerous disadvantage. . . . For this campaign, the expeditionary force headquarters was ordered to form after active operations involving British troops had begun. I cannot stress too strongly the dangers of such improvisation." General Massy listed "certain other requirements which must be met"—(a) Time for training in amphibian operations; (b) a suitable training area; (c) an allotment of landing craft and ships fitted to carry them; (d) facilities for studying and practising air co-operation, particularly with a fighter and bomber component. (See map in *page* 4003.)



forced the 51st Division, in an exhausted condition after twelve days of continual movement and battle, back fifteen miles to the river Bresle. Another smashing German attack of the 7th split the Tenth Army, cutting off its IX Corps between the Seine estuary and Dieppe, the 51st Division being on the extreme left. On the night of the 8th, the Germans penetrated into Rouen, thus cutting off the 51st Division completely from its proper line of retirement via Rouen.

By June 9 the Germans had established bridge-heads across the Seine. That day the 52nd (Lowland) Division arrived in France; one brigade, the 157th, went into the line on the night of June 12–13 to take over an exposed position east of Conches.

On the 13th also Sir Alan Brooke arrived at Le Mans, and at once took command of all British troops in France. He went to French Army Headquarters in Paris, where General Weygand on the 14th told him that the French Army was no longer capable of organized resistance but, in accordance with a decision taken by the Allied Governments, Brittany was to be defended by holding a line across the peninsula in the vicinity of Rennes—a plan Weygand called "romantic." Sir Alan signed instructions for the participation of the B.E.F. in this move; but on returning to his Headquarters and ringing up the C.I.G.S., he found that neither the C.I.G.S. nor the Prime Minister had heard of such a plan, and he was told that arrangements were to start for the evacuation of those elements of the B.E.F. not serving with the French Tenth Army; it was impressed on him "that it was most important that everything should be done to ensure good relations between ourselves and the French, and to avoid, in every possible way, giving the impression that the B.E.F. was deserting them." Later on the 14th the C.I.G.S. informed Sir Alan that he was no longer under Weygand's orders, and that the B.E.F. was to act as an independent force.

II CORPS
Red fish on wavy blue bands on white

The withdrawal of elements not with the Tenth Army began on June 15 through Brest, St. Malo, Cherbourg, St. Nazaire, Nantes, and La Pallice; while Sir Alan moved his H.Q. to Vitre, "no known body of troops covering the Le Mans area." Next day, he moved to Redon, thirty miles north of St. Nazaire.

The 157th Brigade was under constant attack from the moment it went into the line. On the 16th the Tenth Army retired on the axis Alençon–Rennes. Co-operation with this movement would have been contrary to instructions given to Lieutenant-General J. H. Marshall-Cornwall (placed on the night of June 14–15 in command of all British troops operating with the French Tenth Army) to withdraw towards Cherbourg, which

NORTHERN FRANCE
JUNE 1940

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on June 22, 1940, by Lt.-Gen. Sir Alan Brooke, K.C.B., D.S.O. Commanding II Corps, B.E.F., France.
(See Chapters 97, 149)

AFTER the evacuation of the main B.E.F. from Flanders, there remained in France the 51st (Highland) Division and the incomplete 1st Armoured Division. These units formed part of IX Corps of the French Tenth Army, then on the line of the Somme. A powerful German offensive of June 5

he ordered his forces to do. The 157th Brigade " was still engaged with the enemy and it was only due to the cool handling and tactical ability of its Brigadier, Sir John Laurie, that it was extricated from its dangerous situation, embussed by midnight on the 16th–17th, moved 200 miles by roads encumbered by columns of troops and refugees and embarked 24 hours later at Cherbourg."

At 13.00 hours on June 17 the C.I.G.S. informed Sir Alan that the B.B.C. had reported that the Pétain Government had asked for an armistice, and that all efforts should be directed to getting personnel away. By 15.30 all communication with London had been cut at Rennes. Sir Alan decided to leave Redon for St. Nazaire, where he went on board the armed trawler H.M.S. " Cambridgeshire," which reached Plymouth at 18.00 hours on June 19. When the last troopship left Cherbourg, at 16.00 hours on the 18th, the Germans were within three miles of the harbour.

BATTLE of BRITAIN

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for Air on August 20, 1941, by Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh C. T. Dowding, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., C.M.G., A.D.C., A.O.C.-in-C. Fighter Command, R.A.F.
(See Chapters 110, 114, 115, 119)

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL DOWDING describes the Air Ministry's publication, " The Battle of Britain," as " an admirable account of the Battle for public consumption," but points out two errors, one, the overrating of the Hurricane's speed at 335 instead of 305 m.p.h., of no great importance; the other much more so: on page 33, it is stated that the " Fighter Squadrons of the Royal Air Force . . . were stronger at the end of the battle than at the beginning." In fact, says Dowding, " the majority of the squadrons had been reduced to the status of training units, and were fit only for operations against unescorted bombers."

Of the four phases of the battle, Air Chief Marshal Dowding says that in the first phase, against convoys and coastal objectives (July 10–August 25), " the amount of physical damage done was not excessive." In the second phase (August 26–September 10) against Fighter aerodromes " Manston, Hawkinge and Lympne, the three advance grounds on which we relied for filling up tanks when a maximum range was required for operations over France, were so heavily attacked that they were temporarily abandoned. . . . Damage done to Fighter aerodromes was serious, and has been generally underestimated. Luckily, the Germans did not realize the success of their efforts, and shifted their objectives before the cumulative effect of the damage had become apparent to them. . . . By the beginning of September the incidence of casualties became so serious that a fresh squadron would become depleted and exhausted before any of the resting and re-forming squadrons was ready to take its place."

In the third phase (September 11–September 30), the attack on London, " within 24 hours the defences to the south and south-east of London were approximately doubled, and the great increase in the volume of fire was immediately noticed and had a very good effect on public morale . . . . But the main effect was never generally known: on some nights as many as 60 per cent of the raiders approaching London from the south turned back after dropping their bombs in the open country or on the fringe of the barrage."

In the fourth phase (October 1–31), " the main object " was to draw " our Fighters into the air and engage them in circumstances as disadvantageous to us as possible." In that phase, " the apparent ratio of losses in our favour dropped appreciably. I say ' apparent ' because, in fighting at extreme altitudes, fighters often could not see their victims crash, and the percentage reported as Certainly Destroyed was unfairly depressed. . . . Serious as were our difficulties, those of the enemy were worse, and by the end of October the Germans abandoned their attempt to wear down the Fighter Command, and the country was delivered from the threat of immediate invasion."

How remarkable that result was is emphasized by all that Air Chief Marshal Dowding reveals of the inadequacy at that time of identification and tracking of aircraft—radiolocation was in its infancy, and the men of the Observer Corps (later to become the Royal Observer Corps) " constituted the sole means of tracking enemy raids once they had crossed the coast line."

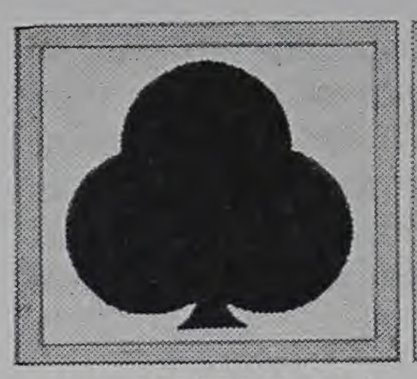
EAST AFRICA
NOV. 1940—JULY 1941

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on May 21, 1942, by Gen. Sir Archibald P. Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., C.-in-C. Middle East.
(See Chapters 163, 164)

THIS dispatch covers reports from Lieutenant-General Sir William Platt, K.C.B., D.S.O. (responsible for operations from the Sudan), from December 1, 1940 to August 26, 1941, and Lieutenant-General Sir Alan Cunningham, K.C.B., D.S.O., M.C. (responsible for operations from Kenya), from November 1, 1940 to April 5, 1941 and April 6 to July 11, 1941.

The reports by General Platt and General Cunningham give detailed accounts of the operations under their command, which cleared the Italians from Italian East Africa except for a pocket of resistance at Gondar (allowed to remain until the following November as it could have no further influence on operations, and Wavell was anxious to transfer troops back to Egypt). The conquest of Italian East Africa was accomplished in four months—from the end of January to the beginning of June. A force of 220,000 men, well found, says General Cunningham, except in a few commodities, was virtually destroyed, with the whole of its equipment.

General Wavell's covering dispatch reveals the background behind these successful campaigns in the field. " During the autumn and winter of 1940–41," he said, " I had to take into account two conflicting policies which were urged on me from different quarters. I was being pressed by the Defence Minister at home to move forces from East Africa to Egypt. . . . General Smuts frequently impressed on me the danger of reducing the forces in East Africa. . . . I resisted proposals to reduce the force in East Africa, at least until we had driven the enemy farther back."



11th AFRICAN DIV. *Black on White*

12th AFRICAN DIV. *White on Black*

On December 2, 1940, on the eve of the offensive against Marshal Graziani's forces in the Western Desert, General Wavell held a meeting in Cairo at which Generals Platt and Cunningham were present. " The ruling idea in my mind was that the fomentation of the patriot movement in Abyssinia offered with the resources available the best prospect of making the Italian position impossible," says Wavell, who appointed Lieutenant-Colonel O. C. Wingate as staff officer for patriot activities—" his energy and initiative was an important factor in the means by which the patriot movement gained so great an impetus."

" The ultimate pattern of the conquest was a pincer movement on the largest scale, through Eritrea and Somaliland converging on Amba Alagi, combined with a direct thrust through Western Abyssinia by the patriot forces. It looks Teutonic in conception and execution; but this result was not foreseen in the original plan, but arose

gradually through the development of events. It was in fact an improvisation after the British fashion of war rather than a set piece in the German manner.

"General Platt and General Cunningham acted on broad general instructions from me and I made no attempt to control their operations in detail. Success was due mainly to their boldness and skill in execution, the quality of their subordinate commanders and to the dash and endurance of the troops. . . ." In the two months up to the capture of Addis Ababa on April 6, General Cunningham's forces suffered only 500 casualties, of whom under 150 were killed.

The conquest of Abyssinia posed serious problems in the administration of the conquered territory and the security and feeding of the very large Italian civilian population there. A nucleus organization whose formation had been put in train in December 1940 prevented a breakdown in administration; and apprehensions in regard to Italian civilians proved largely unfounded—the behaviour of the native population to their former conquerors was in general tolerant; while the food supply was easier than had been expected.

ETHIOPIA, ERITREA AND MADAGASCAR

JULY 1941—JAN. 1943

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on March 31, 1943, by Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Platt, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.S.O., G.O.C.-in-C. East Africa Command. (*See Chapter 225*)

By mid-July 1941 opposition by Italian forces had been almost eliminated, but the maintenance of law and order over more than half a million square miles of conquered territory presented big problems. The country was everywhere armed with rifles, ammunition, grenades, and many automatics, some pumped into Ethiopia from the Sudan to aid the patriots, others issued by the Italians in the unfulfilled hope that they would be used against the British, still others gleaned from deserted battlefields or looted from hidden reserve dumps.

Except in Ethiopia, where the Italians had constructed hundreds of miles of tarred and beautifully graded roads, communications were poor: the four railways between Eritrea and the Zambesi ran from west to east; save in Uganda and the small island of Zanzibar, there were no roads worthy of the name in the British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territory included in the Command.

EAST AFRICA COMMAND

Crossed machetes on green

With the fall of Gondar, last stronghold in Ethiopia, on November 27, the Italian East African Empire ended. Early in November the Cabinet gave a formal decision for all Italians (numbering some 34,000) to be evacuated from Ethiopia, in accordance with a demand expressed by most Ethiopians from the Emperor downwards. The men were to go as prisoners of war to British East African territories, the women, children and old and infirm men to be repatriated to Italy in Italian ships. Evacuation began in December, although a change of front on the part of the Ethiopians (who went to the length of hiding enemy subjects, so anxious were they to retain their former conquerors for the running of the services the Italians had introduced) and lack of consultation between H.M. Minister, Mr. Howe (who arrived at Addis Ababa in February 1942), and the G.O.C. caused additional difficulties to those already entailed in such an operation.

Japan's entry into the war brought the threat of war to the East African coast. Operations against Ethiopia had caused the Command to face north. It had now to face east. The arrival of coast defence and anti-aircraft units, guns, personnel, and stores began in April 1942.

In response to a War Office request of December 1941, two East African Brigades were selected for service overseas. This was the first time during the war that the employment of East African troops outside Africa had been considered. 21st Brigade embarked at Mombasa early in March 1942 for Ceylon. A brigade also served in Madagascar.

That island remained under Vichy control, and in the first week of May combined forces from Great Britain attacked and occupied Diego Suarez. When by July it became obvious that the Governor-General was unlikely to make the "rapprochement" which had been hoped for, it was decided to undertake further operations. At dusk on September 9 a force arrived from Mombasa just out of sight of land west of Majunga. Neither air nor surface craft had sighted the movement. Shortly after midnight the leading ship of the column of 49 moving in single line ahead dropped anchor. The remainder moved silently to their appointed stations. A successful landing followed, and by 08.00 hours next day Majunga was in the invaders' hands at a cost of twenty casualties. A rapid advance inland began immediately. Simultaneously with the landing at Majunga, the island of Nosy-Be on the north-west coast was occupied. A party of forty from a Commando unit who landed at Morandava, on the west coast, "by advancing some forty miles inland on their push-bicycles, and by intelligent use of the telephone, created the desired impression that a column of various arms with mechanized transport was advancing on the capital from this place. After 48 hours on land, the diversion was re-embarked." Other landings were made, and troops pushed on towards Tananarive, having to negotiate many road-blocks, but with almost no fighting. They entered the capital on September 23, and were received enthusiastically by all classes of the population.

Some of the officials were unwilling to co-operate with the Allies and were removed, but successors were found and a form of government set up. On October 18 the Governor-General sent a plenipotentiary to negotiate, and hostilities ceased at 14.00 hours on November 5, exactly eight weeks from the day, and 660 miles from the place of landing at Majunga.

French Somaliland still adhered to the Vichy Government, but after the surrender of Madagascar and the Allied landings in North Africa on November 28, Colonel Raynal and nearly a third

MIDDLE EAST COMMANDERS

General Sir Archibald Percival Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C. (right), Allied C.-in-C., Middle East from 1939-41, at an inspection in the Middle East, with Lieutenant-General Sir William Platt, G.B.E., K.C.B. (centre), who was responsible for operations against Abyssinia from the Sudan in 1941 and G.O.C.-in-C., East Africa Command, 1941-45

War Office Photograph

of the garrison crossed the frontier and announced their adherence to the Allies. On December 26 Colonel Raynal and a Fighting French Force moved into French Somaliland, with strict instructions not to open fire unless first fired on themselves. Two days later the Acting Governor signed an agreement whereby French Somaliland took her place as part of the Fighting French. General Legentilhomme arrived at Jibuti on New Year's Day, 1943, as High Commissioner for French Possessions in the Indian Ocrean, and a week later General Platt handed over to him responsibility for the administration of Madagascar, except for the defended area round Diego Suarez.

MIDDLE EAST
AUG. 1939—NOV. 1940

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on Dec. 10, 1940, by Gen. Sir Archibald P. Wavell, K.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., C.-in-C. Middle East.
(See Chapters 108, 130)

At the outbreak of the war, Middle East Command assumed control over the troops in Egypt, Palestine, Sudan and Cyprus. At that time the fighting forces in the Middle East included no complete formation of any kind; there were in all 21 battalions of infantry, but only 64 field guns, 48 A.T. guns, and 8 A.A. guns. During the first months of the war, General Wavell was concerned largely with establishing relations with the neighbouring French Commanders in Syria, North Africa, and French Somaliland, and with the military authorities in Turkey. He was allowed to make no preparations against the eventuality of Italy's joining in the war because H.M. Government wanted to avoid doing anything that might impair existing relations with that country.

A few reinforcements, including Australian and New Zealand troops ("magnificent material, but only partially trained and equipped"), arrived between September 1939 and March 1940. A brigade and an air force contingent from South Africa reached Kenya in June—"their quality was extremely high." Southern Rhodesia sent in April "a valuable reinforcement" of 24 officers and 666 men of high quality. Maltese, Cypriots, Mauritians, and Arab and Jewish Palestinians also served in the Middle East forces.

When Italy entered the war (June 10, 1940) there were estimated to be over 215,000 Italian troops in Libya, and over 200,000 in Italian East Africa. Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, British Somaliland adjacent to these countries had garrisons: Egypt, about 36,000; Sudan (1,000-mile frontier with Italian East Africa), about 9,000; Kenya (700-mile frontier with Italian East Africa), about 8,500; British Somaliland, about 1,475. Palestine, Aden Protectorate, and Cyprus, also liable to attack, had: Palestine, about 27,800; Aden, about 2,500; Cyprus, about 800. The enemy also had a very considerable numerical advantage in the air. The shortest route by which the Middle East could be reinforced became too precarious; and 7,000 badly needed reinforcements ready for dispatch in May did not reach the Middle East until the end of August.

After the French accepted the armistice of June 22, General Nogues in North Africa after a little hesitation decided to obey the order to capitulate; General Mittelhauser in Syria followed suit; General Legentilhomme in Jibuti (French Somaliland) held out nearly a month, but was unable to induce the colony to continue the struggle.

The foremost defended positions in Egypt were at Mersa Matruh, over 200 miles west of Alexandria and about 120 miles from the Egyptian frontier with Libya. A small British covering force crossed the frontier on the night of June 11–12, capturing Capuzzo and Maddalena on the 14th. An enemy brigade reoccupied Fort Capuzzo, which had been destroyed, but was repulsed before Sollum on the frontier, and the small British force continued to dominate the situation, even after the enemy had been reinforced to a strength of four or five divisions. The enemy crossed the frontier on September 13 on a narrow front along the coast road, and then remained virtually stationary for two months. Published Italian casualties for the period June–mid-September were approximately 3,500; British totalled just over 150.

A policy of holding the frontier posts as long as possible was developed in Kenya also, the principal engagement taking place at Moyale, which a company of the King's African Rifles held for several weeks against an Italian force amounting to about a brigade. Not until a second Italian brigade had been brought up was it decided to withdraw the company on July 15. In the Sudan, small mobile forces directed to occupy the principal places on the frontier until attacked by superior forces made several successful raids on Italian frontier posts in the early days of the war, and when finally attacked at Kassala (July 4) and Gallabat (July 6) by greatly superior Italian forces, fought successful delaying actions and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, who did not follow up his success.

MIDDLE EAST
FEBRUARY—JULY 1941

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on Sept. 5, 1941, by Gen. Sir Archibald P. Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., C.-in-C. Middle East.
(See Chapters 158, 159, 161, 162.)

"In the six months covered by this dispatch, Middle East was called upon to conduct no fewer than six major campaigns—in Greece, in Cyrenaica, in Crete, in Iraq, in Syria, and in Italian East Africa. During May, five of these were being conducted simultaneously, and there were never less than three on hand at one time. The theatres of these operations were several hundreds of miles apart, in some instances well over a thousand."

In February 1941 the troops available in the Middle East were two armoured, three Australian, one New Zealand and one British Divisions, a Polish Brigade Group, two Indian Divisions (in Eritrea), and one South African and two African Divisions (in East Africa). Of the two armoured divisions, the 7th had been fighting continuously for eight months and was mechanically incapable of further action. The 2nd had arrived from the United Kingdom on January 1, 1941, was two regiments short, and the tanks of two of its regiments were in need of new tracks.

Of the three Australian divisions, the 6th was seasoned and fully equipped. The 7th had had no training as a division and was not fully equipped; the 9th had only just arrived, was only partially trained, and was very short of equipment. The British 6th was being formed out of battalions in Egypt. The Polish Brigade Group was not fully equipped.

The maximum force that could be made available for Greece was part of the 2nd Armoured Division, the New Zealand Division, the 6th and 7th Australian Divisions, and the Polish Brigade—virtually all the troops in the Middle East that were fully equipped and fit for operations. But at the time "the Italian armies in Cyrenaica had been so completely defeated that any counter-attack by them could be ruled out for some time to come." Intelligence, however, was weak, and Wavell was unaware that a German Light Armoured Division had begun to land at Tripoli early in February.

It had been understood that the Greek C.-in-C., General Papagos, would

withdraw Greek troops from Macedonia, Eastern Thrace and probably Albania (totalling 35 battalions) to the Aliakhmon Line, a short, naturally strong defensive line west of Salonika; but after the Germans entered Bulgaria (March 1) it was found that, apparently for political reasons, he had not done so, "and there was every prospect of the Greek forces being defeated in detail." The difficult nature of the country, the poor communications, and the severe climate in March and April added to the problems confronting the British forces under General Sir H. M. Wilson, whose dispatch to Greece began on March 5. The German attack opened on April 6. By the 20th, the general situation showed that the end of Greek resistance was near. Evacuation began on the night of April 24–25 after the capitulation of the Greek army in the Epirus. The total number of troops sent to Greece was approximately 57,660. Close on 43,000 were safely re-embarked; 27,000 were landed in Crete and the remainder were taken back to Egypt. All guns, transport and equipment other than personal were, however, lost.

Meanwhile the situation in Cyrenaica had been deteriorating. German air attacks made it impossible to use the port of Benghazi, and all supplies to forward troops had to be taken overland from Tobruk, 200 miles away. But from January to April inclusive only 5,865 vehicles (instead of the 3,000 a month promised) arrived; and all 8,000 vehicles sent to Greece were lost in the evacuation.

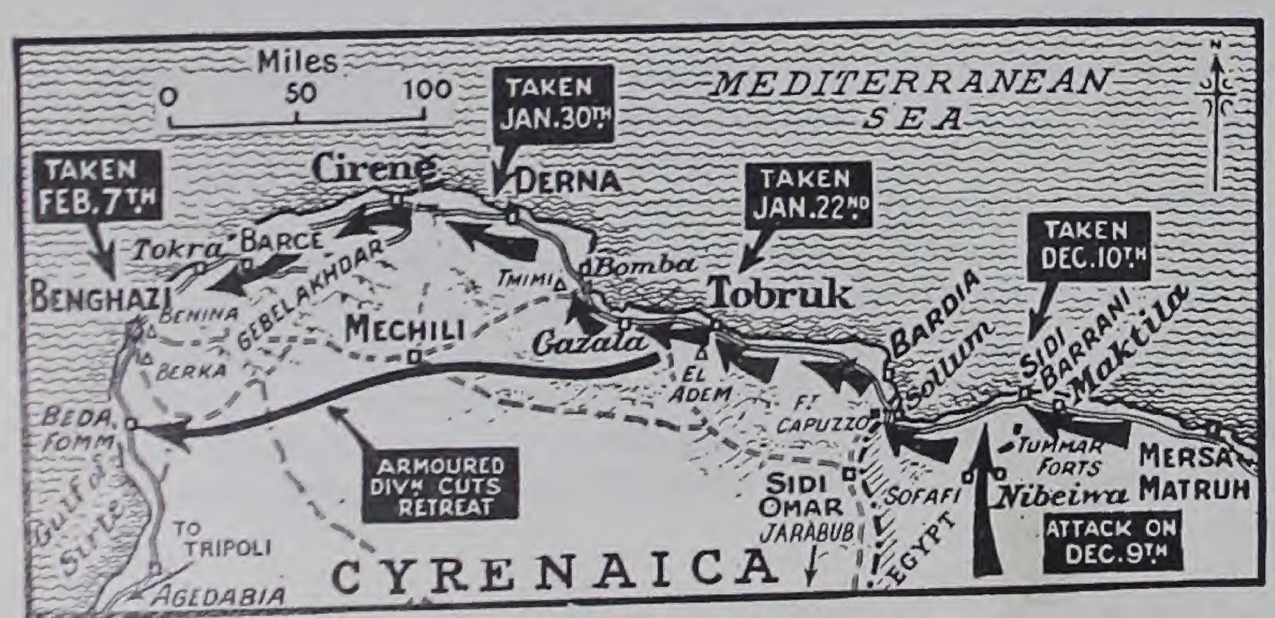
On March 21 the last Italian detachment left in Cyrenaica (at Jarabub Oasis) was captured. On March 31 the enemy counter-offensive began. General Neame, commanding in Cyrenaica, acting on instructions, fought a delaying action. But the detachment guarding Msus, the principal dump of petrol and supplies for the armoured division, destroyed all the petrol on hearing that the enemy were approaching. The 3rd Armoured Brigade, lacking petrol, was cut off and captured in Derna. H.Q. 2nd Armoured Division (with almost no armoured vehicles) with other units which had reached Mechili, was attacked in force, and except for "certain parties which showed great determination and resource," was captured; a disaster attributable "mainly to the poor mechanical state of its vehicles, nearly half of which were in the workshops while the remainder were in no condition for a prolonged retreat."

Wavell decided that it was essential to hold Tobruk, both for the large reserves of supplies there and to prevent the enemy from obtaining the use of the port and water supply for his further advance, and he ordered a brigade of the 7th Australian Division to be embarked and sent round to Tobruk, where it arrived on April 7. Some tanks which had been under repair in Tobruk were reinforced with some more tanks from Egypt. A mobile force left outside the defences was driven back to the Egyptian border near Sollum by April 11, and Tobruk was invested.

Until the arrival of Imperial troops from Greece (most of whom were in need of rest and were short of equipment of all kinds), there were three battalions only in Crete, an island about 160 miles long and 40 wide. 16,000 Italian prisoners of war, captured by the Greeks, were under guard on the island. Every effort was made to send stores and material, but a considerable proportion was sunk on the voyage, including about half the field-guns and more than half the engineer stores required for constructing defences.

On May 20 German parachutists estimated to number over 7,000 landed, and though the majority were accounted for, small parties established themselves at various points. The enemy's air strength decided the struggle, for by May 25 "no merchant ships had any chance of survival within 50 miles of the island." Evacuation had to be carried out at night, from beaches reached by rough paths from the high ground above; 14,500 were got out.

"The defence of Crete," says General Wavell, "though unsuccessful, undoubtedly frustrated the enemy plan for future operations by destroying so large a portion of his airborne troops. The total enemy losses were at least 12,000–15,000, of whom a very high proportion were killed. The defence saved in all probability Cyprus, Syria, Iraq and perhaps Tobruk. . . . The Crete fighting may prove a turning-point of the war."



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WESTERN DESERT
DEC. 1940—FEB. 1941

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on June 21, 1941, by Gen. Sir Archibald P. Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., C.-in-C. Middle East.
(*See Chapters 131, 153*)

IN accordance with prearranged policy, little opposition was offered to the Italian advance to Sidi Barrani, and it was not proposed to oppose the enemy in strength until he reached prepared defences at Mersa Matruh. About the middle of October 1940, however, when the enemy had been stationary for a month, General Wavell had decided to attack, believing the morale, training, and equipment of his forces would offset their inferiority in numbers. The invasion of Greece by Italy at the end of October, and the demand for support from Greece, necessitated a delay in the execution of the plan until the beginning of December, but preparations went forward. Dumps of ammunition, water and petrol were established between the British lines at Matruh and the enemy lines, apparently without attracting the enemy's notice. "Several days' supplies for the whole force were actually stored some 20 to 30 miles in advance of our fortified lines, covered only by our advanced patrols." The plan of attack involved a preliminary movement of some 70 miles for the majority of the troops over open desert. This was to be covered in two marches on successive nights (the whole force being mechanized or motorized), the attack taking place on the early morning following the second night march. The whole force, therefore, had to spend one day in the open desert, within about 30 miles of the enemy, who made no move.

Advance Against Italians

By nightfall of December 10 Sidi Barrani had been captured. By the 15th all enemy troops had been driven out of Egypt. British equipment, notes General Wavell, in particular the Infantry Tanks, Cruiser Tanks and 25-pounders, proved to be excellent. On January 3, 1941, a new attack began. Bardia was secured by the 5th. Early on January 21 Tobruk was entered without resistance. Benghazi surrendered on February 7. (*See map.*)

"During the two months from December 7 to February 7 the Army of the Nile advanced 500 miles. They had beaten and destroyed an Italian army of four Corps comprising nine divisions and part of a tenth, and had captured 130,000 prisoners, 400 tanks, and 1,290 guns, besides vast quantities of other war material. In these operations we

never employed a larger force than two divisions, of which one was armoured. . . . The 7th Armoured Division took part in the operations throughout, at the end of which it was practically reduced to a skeleton. Our casualties amounted to 500 killed, 1,373 wounded, 55 missing only.

"The Army owes much to the Royal Navy, under Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham, for its support throughout the operation, both in prearranged bombardments of enemy positions previous to the attacks on Sidi Barrani, Bardia and Tobruk, and in answering emergency calls during the actual attacks. . . . The maintenance problems in this quick-moving operation would have been insurmountable without the Navy's assistance in keeping open the sea supply lines."

MIDDLE EAST
JULY—OCTOBER 1941

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on March 8, 1942, by Gen. Sir Claude J. E. Auchinleck, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E., A.D.C., C.-in-C. Middle East Forces. (*See Chapter 162*)

"On taking over command of the Middle East Forces on the 5th July, 1941, I found the general position incomparably better than it had been a year earlier on the collapse of France. This improvement was entirely due to the energy of my predecessor, General Sir Archibald Wavell, and his vigour in seeking out the enemy wherever he was to be found . . . Only in the North had recent events [the enemy occupation of Greece and Crete] made our position more difficult."

The rapidity with which General Wavell's campaigns in Libya, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Greece, Crete, Iraq and Syria had been undertaken with inadequate forces and equipment entailed a comprehensive programme of reorganization, improvisation, re-equipment and training, already in progress when General Auchinleck took over.

Syria was occupied by British and Free French Forces, following the convention signed at Acre on July 14, 1941, by General Wilson and General de Verdillac (representing Vichy France). The garrison in Cyprus was increased, in case of attack through Turkey. Occupation of Iran (Persia) began with the entry of Russian troops from the north and British troops from Iraq on August 25 and was completed on August 28, when the Shah ordered all resistance (little had been offered) to cease. Efforts to concert plans with Turkey in case of an attack on her by Germany came to nothing: "although I believe the Turks are genuine in their desire to exclude the Germans from their country and to side with us if the situation is favourable, I cannot conceal from myself the possibility of circumstances proving too strong for them, and I am making my plans accordingly."

At a conference at Baghdad on September 26, attended by the C.-in-C. India and General Auchinleck, it was agreed that the Joint Planning Staff, Middle East, should study the problem of defending Persia, Iraq, Palestine and Syria against invasion either through Western Anatolia or the Caucasus or by both routes.

Operations in East Africa were virtually at a standstill. An East African Command established on September 15, 1941, took over control of the area.

In the Western Desert, where the enemy also was reorganizing, as British armoured units were re-equipped and became more numerous, a more offensive policy was gradually adopted. Throughout the summer the enemy devoted much attention to building defences on the frontier between Sollum and Sidi Omar. The defenders of Tobruk, "behaving not as a hardly pressed garrison but as a spirited force ready at any moment to launch an attack," contained an enemy force twice their strength—four Italian divisions and three German battalions—from April until November. The whole Australian garrison except one battalion was got out and replaced by fresh troops in the moonless periods of August, September and October. The service rendered by the Royal Navy, the Fleet Air Arm, and the R.A.F. made it possible to carry out the relief with negligible loss of army personnel, and to maintain the fortress in spite of heavy risks and great difficulties.

IRAQ, SYRIA, PERSIA
APRIL 1941—JAN. 1942

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on October 18, 1942, by General Sir Archibald P. Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., C.-in-C. India. (*See Chapters 165, 166, 184*)

Events in Iraq in early April 1941 led to the diversion of a convoy, at that time embarking at Karachi for Malaya, to Basra, where it arrived on April 18, evidently greatly to the surprise of Rashid Ali. On April 21 the Iraq Government formally agreed to the arrival of the British troops on condition that no further troops should be landed before those who had already arrived had crossed the frontier out of Iraq. Ancillary troops disembarked at Basra without incident on the 29th.

The first hostile move by the Iraq forces occurred on April 30, when two infantry brigades supported by artillery and some armoured cars began to concentrate round the R.A.F. camp at Habbaniya, training their guns on the camp. A demand for the withdrawal of these troops was refused by the Iraqi Commander, and hostilities broke out on May 2, the R.A.F. station being shelled intermittently until May 5. The camp was also bombed and machine-gunned by the Iraqi Air Force. The R.A.F. bombed the Iraqi positions. In spite of the fact that the aerodrome was often under heavy fire, the R.A.F. during this period evacuated by air to Basra a large number of women and children sent from Baghdad to Habbaniya.

R.A.F. Camp Attacked

By May 3 Iraqi forces had occupied Rutbah, and all refineries and oil installations were in their hands. But on May 6 the British forces at Habbaniya succeeded in clearing the plateau. Iraqi troops were driven from Basra area by May 7. Fallujah was occupied on May 19. On May 12 German aircraft, on May 29 Italian, made their first appearance in Iraq.

Meanwhile, Rashid Ali and many of his principal supporters had fled the country, and the Iraqis asked for an armistice, signed at Baghdad at 15.00 hours on May 31. Mosul was occupied on June 3.

Assistance in the Syrian campaign was then given precedence over all other tasks in Iraq, and on June 22 a force moved to Haditha with orders to capture Abu Kemal, known to be occupied by some French troops and rebel Iraqis. Operations in Syria were completed by July 14.

The attitude of the Iranian (Persian) Government over the expulsion of Axis nationals led to the presentation of an Anglo-Soviet note on August 17. The reply being unsatisfactory, an advance into Persia began on August 25 by sea and overland. As British troops were approaching Ahwaz on the 28th, the news of the Shah's "cease fire" was received. The refinery area was occupied on August 29, and on August 30 troops reached Kermanshah. Russian forces were met at Senna on August 29 and just south of Kazvin on August 31. Russians from the east and west and British from the south entered Teheran on September 17. After a combined British-Russian parade on October 17, the Russians withdrew to Kazvin and Pahlevi, the British to Sultanabad and Hamadan on the 18th.

Work continued on the construction of fortress areas in north Iraq and

in Persia throughout the winter. In spite of exceptionally severe conditions, very good progress was made. Work also continued steadily on the development of the main base area at Basra-Shaibo and advanced bases near Baghdad and at Kirkuk and Ahwaz (Persia); construction of aerodromes in north Iraq and Persia; improvement of road, rail and river communications and construction of telegraphic communications in Iraq and Persia; development of Um Qasr and Bandar Shahpur (Persian Gulf) ports.

INDIA AND BURMA

MARCH–DEC. 1942

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on September 27, 1943, by Field-Marshal The Viscount Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C., A.D.C., C.-in-C. India. (*See Chapter 223*)

AFTER the fall of Rangoon early in March 1942, when the threat of a Japanese invasion of India became serious, there was in that country no single fully-trained division, troops having been sent abroad since the beginning of the war as quickly as they could be trained. Less than 150 A.A. guns were available to defend Calcutta, India's largest city, instead of the estimated total requirement of 1,500. Instead of the 64 squadrons of aircraft which Wavell considered necessary, there were ten—one of them, at Dinjan, obsolete Audax fighters, six of them in Ceylon. This last concentration proved fortunate, for Japanese carrier-borne aircraft attacked Colombo on April 5, Trincomalee on April 9. The enemy, who suffered considerable losses, did little damage on land; but a squadron of Blenheims sent to attack his aircraft-carriers was virtually destroyed without accomplishing anything; and Japanese aircraft sank two 8-inch cruisers "Dorsetshire" and "Cornwall," the aircraft-carrier "Hermes," and some smaller vessels in the waters around Ceylon. "In the Bay of Bengal Japanese light forces and aircraft sank just on 100,000 tons of merchant shipping, dropped a few bombs on Vizagapatam—the first on Indian soil, and caused a panic on the eastern coasts of India. . . . This was India's most dangerous hour; our Eastern Fleet was powerless to protect Ceylon or eastern India; and it was becoming increasingly obvious that our small tired force in Burma was unlikely to be able to hold the enemy, while the absence of communications between Assam and Upper Burma [Wavell gives details showing the absence of even one adequate line of communications in north-east India] made it impossible to reinforce it. Fortunately the enemy naval force withdrew, and no Japanese surface warships have since appeared in Indian waters."

Wavell asked the War Cabinet for help, but he learned that "the Eastern Fleet, instead of being strengthened, was likely to be further reduced for operations in the Mediterranean to provision Malta, that two brigades of the 5th British Division on the way to reinforce India were being diverted for the capture of Madagascar, to which also was being sent an East African brigade which I had been led to expect for Ceylon; and that the Australian Government was demanding the return to Australia of the two brigades in Ceylon." All these dispositions were made, despite Wavell's protests to the Minister of Defence, but, says Wavell, "Events proved his judgement correct."

Before any operations could be effected, roads had to be constructed, railways improved and extended. Construction of over 200 airfields was put in hand, the air force was expanded.

An exceptionally heavy monsoon caused extensive flooding north of the Brahmaputra and landslides on the road to Imphal—the sole line of communication with a large part of the force in Burma. "This was followed by the worst malaria epidemic which India had known for many years." "The rebellion organized by Congress was directed especially against our communications in north-east India" and troops equivalent to 58 battalions had to be "used for internal security" instead of continuing their "legitimate work of training and equipping for the dry weather season." Terrorism by the Hurs had to be put down. Some 400,000 civilian refugees from Burma had to be transported and fed—a number marooned at Shingbwiyang for the monsoon period had to be fed by air; and parties attempting to reach Ledo from Fort Hertz via the Chaukar pass had to be rescued. "General Stilwell himself, the American Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo, had been cut off in Burma and had to make his way on foot to Assam." Several thousands of Chinese troops reached India from Burma.

Brought up to a strength of approximately 30,000 by Chinese flown in from China during October, November and December, they were trained for operations from India into Burma.

Fort Hertz in the extreme north of Burma was reoccupied by air; and plans for the reconquest of Burma, much on the lines of the actual campaign, were worked out, although Wavell's hopes of mounting seaborne attacks against Akyab and Lower Burma in early 1943 were frustrated.

PERSIA AND IRAQ

AUG. 1942—FEB. 1943

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on April 8, 1943, by Gen. Sir H. Maitland Wilson, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.S.O., C.-in-C. Persia and Iraq Command. (*See Chapters 246, 266*)

THE successes gained by the Germans during the summer of 1942 in their South Russian offensive made it necessary to take account of the possibility that they might succeed in occupying the whole of Caucasia, and later undertake an invasion of Persia. Their simultaneous advance into Egypt not only denied to the C.-in-C. Middle East freedom to move forces rapidly from Egypt to Persia (the basis of previous plans for the defence of the latter), but led also to the withdrawal from the British 10th Army of troops, equipment and transport to reinforce the 8th Army in Egypt.

The decision to create in Persia and Iraq a separate Command directly under the War Office was made in August 1942. General Maitland Wilson was appointed C.-in-C., his tasks being (1) to secure at all costs from land and air attack the oilfields and oil installations in Persia and Iraq; (2) to ensure the transport of supplies to Russia to the maximum extent possible without prejudicing his first task.

PERSIA AND IRAQ COMMAND
Red on royal blue

"In carrying out my first task," he says, "it would obviously have been preferable for British forces—Army and Royal Air Force—to have given direct assistance to the Russian defence in the Caucasus; . . . the unwillingness of the Russians rendered such a course impracticable."

There was a shortage of vehicles of all types, and "my capacity to maintain sufficient forces in north Persia was the limiting factor, rather than the availability of forces to the Command.

"The Russian authorities in north Persia were averse from concerted planning, and comprehensive reconnaissance was impossible. . . ."

In the event of attack, the problem would have been to maintain a hold on the only areas offering facilities for airfields between the River Araxes to north and the open country about Kazvin-Teheran-Hamadan on the south.

By November 1942, however, the campaign in Russia and the Allied offensive in North Africa had made a German attack on north Persia virtually impossible at least until the spring.

The defence of northern Iraq was entrusted to the Polish Army in the East, assisted by the Iraqi Army.

In the meantime, aid was going through Persia to Russia. The development of this route began in the autumn of 1941, and any decision to curtail or suspend these supplies, in order to permit the Allied forces to be maintained in their forward operational areas, was felt to be fraught with many difficulties, both political and military, and only to be taken at the last possible moment. In the event, no German attack developed, and the flow of supplies continued unhindered save by the difficulties inherent in the passage across an undeveloped country. The total quantity forwarded from September 1942 to February 1943 inclusive was 245,000 tons, the highest figure in any month being 51,000 tons in February 1943.

N. W. EUROPE

JUNE 1944—MAY 1945

Dispatch submitted to Secretary of State for War on June 1, 1946, by Field-Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, G.C.B., D.S.O. (*See Chapters 311, 314, 325, 332, 336, 349, 357*)

General Montgomery (as he then was) arrived in England from Italy on January 2, 1944, to begin work on his part in the plans for the assault on the Continent known as Operation OVERLORD. He was to act as Commander-in-Chief of the Allied land forces for the assault, and subsequently until the stage was reached when a complete American Army Group could be deployed on the Continent.

The first part of this dispatch describes the plan that was made, the forces it was decided to employ, and the technical details of the assault. The second part describes the actual assault and the campaign that followed.

A few points of special interest are here extracted. The drop of 6th Airborne Division, just before the landings, was on the whole more scattered than had been planned, " but one repercussion of this was that the enemy was misled about the area and extent of the landings." Heavy seas were running in the Channel during the sea passage, and " it was an outstanding feat on the part of the naval forces that in spite of this every main essential of the plan was carried out as intended."

Montgomery issued orders to the United States 1st Army to capture Cherbourg and clear the Cotentin peninsula of the enemy, he instructed the British 2nd Army to capture Caen by the development of a pincer movement. Enemy resistance in the Caen area was strong. A table shows that while the maximum number of Panzer divisions opposite the Caumont–Cotentin sectors during the period June 15–July 25 was three (on July 20), the minimum number opposite the Caumont–Caen sectors was four on June 15, the maximum 7½ on June 30–July 5; maximum tanks engaged on the western sectors were 215 on July 5; on the eastern 725 on June 30, with 520 on June 15 as the minimum.

HEADQUARTERS 21st ARMY GROUP
Gold swords on blue cross on red shield

Following the successful breakout in the west, on September 1 the Supreme Commander assumed command and direction of the Army Groups himself, Field-Marshal Montgomery being concerned thenceforth only with the 21st Army Group, that is, the British and Canadian forces with the various Allied contingents serving with them, plus at various times one or more of the American armies.

The eventual mission of the 21st Army Group was the isolation of the Ruhr. The immediate aim of all the Allied armies was to establish bridge-heads over the Rhine throughout its entire length, and to go no farther until Antwerp or Rotterdam was opened.

The airborne battle of Arnhem to secure a bridge-head across the Lower Rhine began on Sunday, September 17: " had reasonable weather conditions obtained," says Montgomery, " I believe the Arnhem bridge-head would have been established and maintained."

Special amphibious devices enabled troops to operate in flooded Walcheren.

" The battle of the Ardennes was won primarily by the staunch qualities of the American soldier."

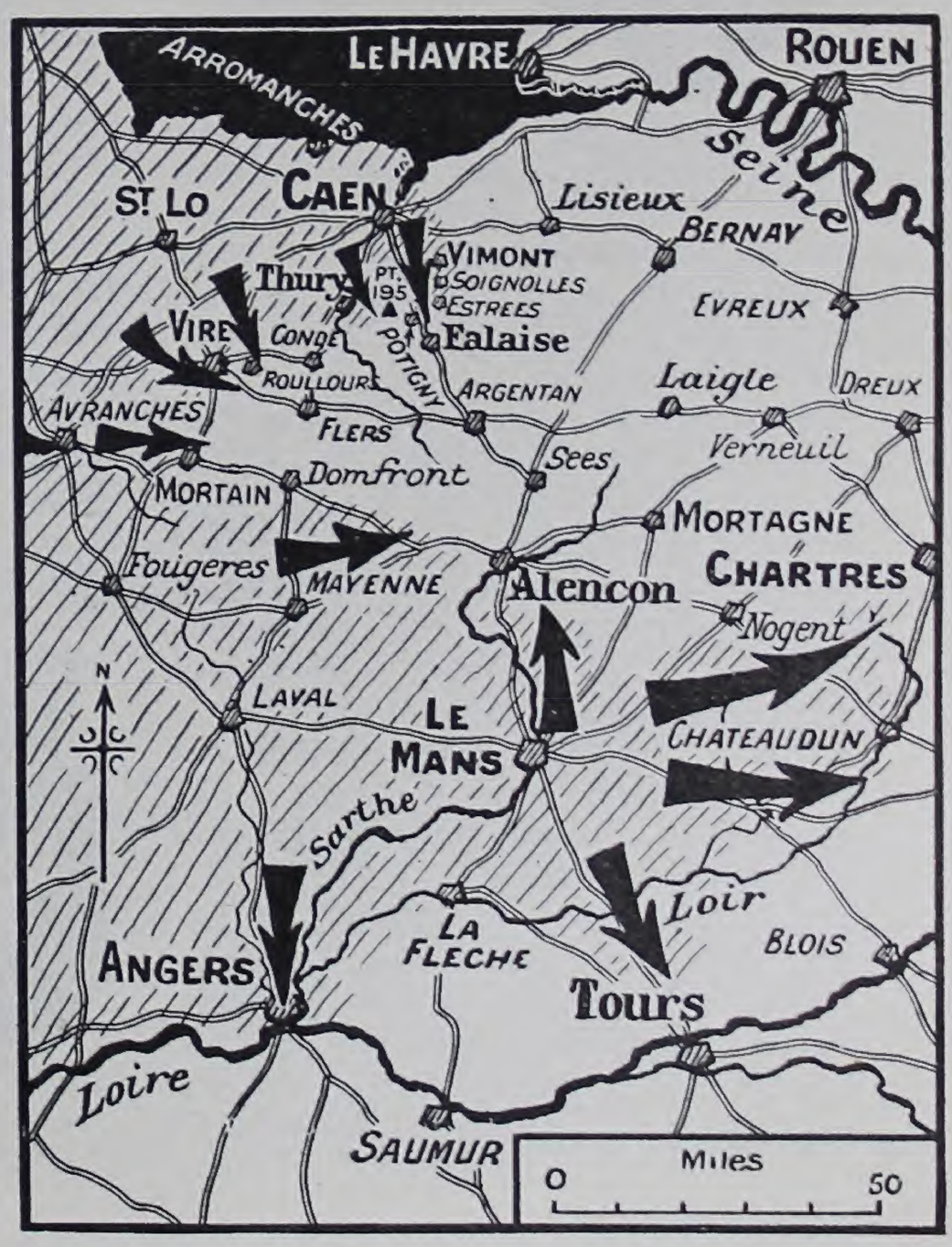
" The keynotes of the battle of the Rhineland were the intense and fanatical opposition of the enemy who, as we had hoped, accepted battle west of the Rhine, and secondly the appalling weather conditions. The northern flank of the Reichswald operation was conducted mainly in various types of amphibious vehicles."

By March 27, 1945, the bridge-head over the Rhine was established and next day the advance to the Elbe began, Montgomery progressively cutting the German east-west lines of communication to the coast and delivering a series of right hooks to round up the enemy, one hook securing Bremen. A manoeuvre for a similar outflanking of Hamburg was under way when the Germans came to negotiate on May 2.

In the course of his summing up, Montgomery says, " The mighty weapon of air power enabled the Army to conduct its operations successfully and with far fewer casualties than would otherwise have been the case." The early stages of the campaign " in plain terms meant the export overseas of a community the size of the population of Birmingham." " Planned operations were never held up even for a single day by any lack of administrative resources." " I am convinced, as a result of experience gained from Alamein to the Baltic, that it is fundamentally unsound to aim at producing one type of tank for co-operation with the infantry and another for the armoured division. We require *one* tank which will do both jobs. I have learnt that the ubiquitous use of armour is a great battle-winning factor." " Nearly two thousand Bailey bridges were erected—some nearly a mile long." " The healing of war wounds has been revolutionized by penicillin."

NORMANDY FRONT

The position on the Normandy front on D day plus 68 (August 13, 1944), showing the pivot on the British left flank at Caen on which swung the whole movement that led to the crossing of the River Seine a week later and the subsequent drive into Belgium.



REPORTS ON NAVAL ACTIONS AND TANKS

Here set down are the salient features of the Official Reports on the loss of H.M.S. 'Glorious' off Norway in 1940, the Operations against the 'Scharnhorst,' 'Gneisenau' and 'Prince Eugen' in the English Channel in 1942, and War-time Tank Production. Also included are details of 'Operation Sea-Lion'—the German plan for the invasion of Britain in 1940

Maps by courtesy of The Daily Telegraph

LOSS OF 'GLORIOUS'

JUNE 8, 1940

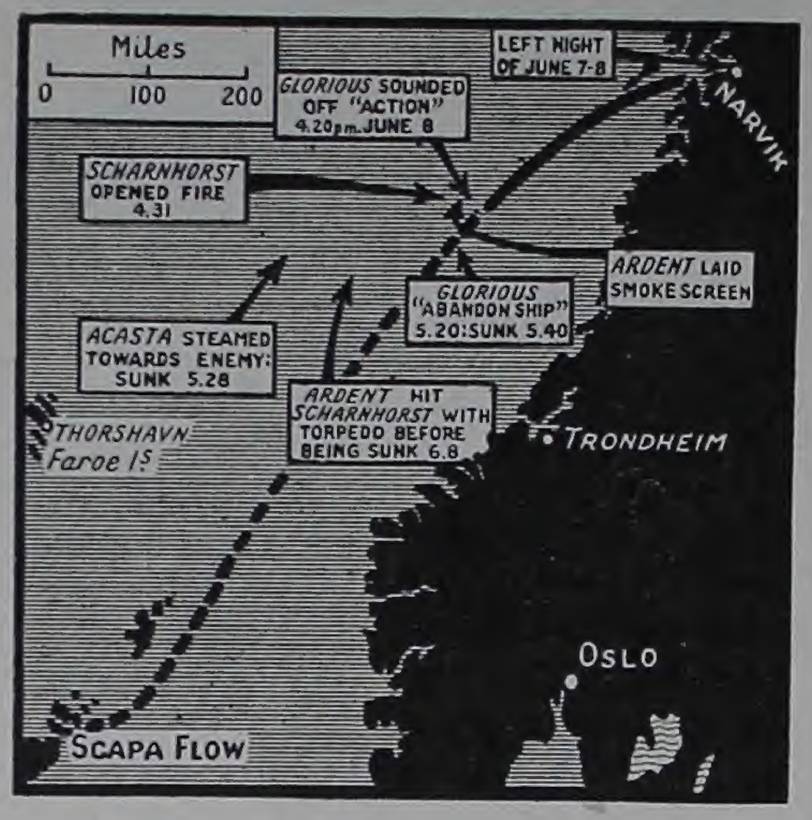
[*Hansard May 8, 1946*]. (*See Chapter 104*)

THE evacuation of Narvik was decided upon on May 24, the very day that British destroyers were evacuating British troops from Boulogne under the guns of the enemy. The forces were to sail in four groups containing in all 13 large transports and a number of storeships. The escort forces consisted of two cruisers (the "Coventry" and the "Southampton"), six destroyers, the "Vindictive" (repair ship) mounting six modern anti-aircraft guns, one sloop, and a number of trawlers.

The aircraft carrier "Glorious" was dispatched from Scapa to Narvik on May 31 to evacuate R.A.F. Gladiator and Hurricane aircraft from Bardufoss in north Norway. For some months aircraft carriers and other heavy ships had, in the absence of any threat from the German Navy, been proceeding independently across the North Sea without incident. Had the "Glorious" had sufficient fuel, she would have accompanied the second large group of ships from Narvik, as did her sister aircraft carrier the "Ark Royal." The "Glorious," however, was an old ship, whose endurance was limited, and it was consequently necessary that she should proceed immediately the fighters were flown on as otherwise it was calculated she would have insufficient fuel to reach British territory. Two destroyers, "Acasta" and "Ardent," were sent with her as anti-submarine escort.

Motto: 'The Name Explains Itself'

The "Glorious" shaped course for Scapa at 03.00 hours on June 8, by which time an enemy force consisting of the two battle-cruisers "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" (9 11-inch, 12 5.9-inch each) and the cruiser "Admiral Hipper" (8 8-inch) was in Northern waters. Its presence was not detected by British reconnaissance and was unknown to Flag Officer, Narvik, and to the C.-in-C. Home Fleet. They had left Kiel on June 4 and passed Bergen about midnight on the 5th. The "Glorious" was proceeding at 17 knots. Only one of five torpedo-spotting-reconnaissance aircraft on board was available for service. No reconnaissance aircraft were up, and none had been up since she parted company from the "Ark Royal." Shortly after 16.00 hours two ships were sighted on the north-west horizon. They were the "Scharnhorst" and the "Gneisenau." About 16.20 action was sounded off. The "Acasta" made for the enemy at high speed, and both destroyers laid a smoke-screen which caused both battle-cruisers to cease fire for some time.



Shortly after the action began, the forward upper hangar of the "Glorious" was hit. A fire started, and was got under control, but it destroyed the Hurricanes and prevented any torpedoes from being got out. A salvo hit the bridge about 17.00 and a heavy shell struck her aft about 17.15. She was completely outranged and her 4-inch guns could do little against the enemy. One main wireless aerial was shot away at an early stage of the action. The order to "abandon ship" was given about 17.20. She sank about 17.40 (*see map*).

Motto. 'Remember Your Ancestors'

The "Acasta" had been sunk about 17.28. The "Ardent," however, was still capable of action and as she steered to the south-east fired a four-tube salvo, hitting the "Scharnhorst" with one torpedo abreast of the after 11-inch turret. The "Ardent" was sunk at 18.08. But her single torpedo hit severely damaged the "Scharnhorst," reducing her speed, and the German battle-cruisers abandoned their cruise and made for Trondheim and thus the approaching convoy with its 14,000 troops was saved from attack.

The nearest British warship was the "Devonshire" (cruiser), 80 to 100 miles to westward. No British ship received an intelligible report of the action; none received any wireless signal. The first news of the loss of the "Glorious" came from a German broadcast on June 9 at 15.00 Heavy loss of life was entailed: naval losses were 1,474; R.A.F., 41. Of the crew of the "Glorious" 38 and of the "Acasta" one were picked up on June 1 by the small Norwegian vessel "Borgund." Five from the "Glorious" and one from the "Ardent" became prisoners of war. The motor boat of the "Glorious" could not be floated owing to the heavy list. A large number of men got on to Carley floats but provisions and water had not been provided in all of them, on account of the fire raging in the hangar where the emergency rations were stored. It was very cold (46°); there was a sea running (which in the "Acasta" capsized the boats), and within a few hours men were collapsing from exhaustion. One float with 22 officers and men was reduced to four by the morning of the 9th. On that day a British cruiser and destroyers were seen by survivors to the north-west, some five miles off. Aircraft from H.M.S. "Ark Royal" carried out most extensive air reconnaissance during the day, and two passed close over the survivors on rafts in the water, and were seen by those survivors, but it was the tragic fact that these aircraft did not see the rafts.

Motto: 'Through Fire and Water'

OPERATION SEA-LION

AUGUST 1940

German Plan for the Invasion of England
(See Hist. Docs. 167, 168 : illus. page 1329)

THE plan of Operation Sea-Lion, found in Berlin, was published on September 26, 1945. First, the Luftwaffe was to gain command of the air over southern England and the Channel. Second, both flanks of the Straits of Dover, and the western entrance to the Channel, were to be sealed off by closely concentrated mine barriers. Third, Army Group "A," consisting of the 16th Army (which was to sail from Ostend, Calais, and Boulogne, and land between Margate and Hastings), and the 9th Army (to sail from Dieppe, Le Havre and Caen and land between Brighton and Portsmouth), was to secure beach-heads, airborne troops clearing the exits from the Romney Marshes, the defiles through the South Downs behind Brighton, and other key points in the Brighton area. Army Group "A" having landed, Army Group "B" (consisting of a reinforced 6th Army) was to sail from Cherbourg Peninsula and land west of Bournemouth in Weymouth Bay (*see map*), by which time the Germans presumably anticipated that Army Group "A" would have drawn the central British reserves towards Kent.

Army Group "A's" first main objective was a line from the Thames estuary about Tilbury south-westward through Caterham, Leatherhead and Aldershot to Southampton Water. Army Group "B's" first objective was not set down. The second objective of both groups was a line from Colchester to about Bristol. London was to be encircled and cleared. That achieved, strong mobile forces were to overrun the industrial areas of the Midlands, South Wales, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and occupy the important ports.

For the assault, the two groups had available eleven infantry and two mountain divisions (much the same strength as the nine Allied divisions put ashore on June 6, 1944, in Normandy). For exploitation of their beach-heads, they had an armoured force of six tank, two motorized, and one S.S. divisions. In addition, there were to be nine infantry divisions in Army and Army Group reserves, and eight infantry divisions in G.H.Q. reserve, a total of 39 divisions in all.

The Army's specific task was to draw up the operation plan for all units of the first wave; that of the Navy, to supply transport, using the ships of defeated enemy States. As much heavy artillery as possible was to be used to secure the crossing, and railway artillery was to be brought up opposite Dover to fire on targets on the mainland.

The Luftwaffe failed in the first phase of the operation, with the result that the German High Command continually postponed invasion until the project had to be abandoned.

SCHARNHORST, GNEISENAU & PRINZ EUGEN

FEBRUARY 12, 1942

Report dated March 2, 1942, on the circumstances in which the German battle-cruisers 'Scharnhorst' and 'Gneisenau' and the cruiser 'Prinz Eugen' proceeded from Brest to Germany.
(See Chapter 213)

THE German battle-cruisers "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" were located at Brest on March 28, 1941. The 8-inch gun cruiser "Prinz Eugen" was first seen there in dry dock on June 4. The R.A.F. made a long series of raids on the ships, though none of them suffered damage which would seriously affect its seaworthiness. Enemy destroyers and smaller vessels began to arrive at Brest in January 1942, and on February 11 the afternoon photographic reconnaissance showed that all three heavy units were out of dock. On the other hand, the torpedo booms were in place protecting the ships, which did not suggest a move that night.

The presence of the German battle-cruisers in the Channel was first reported to the Admiralty and Air Ministry shortly before 11.30 on February 12. They must have been out in open water and steaming towards the Straits of Dover for at least 12 hours before H.Q. was notified: how did that happen?

It was a very dark night; reliance therefore had to be placed on the ASV. But the ASV of the aircraft on "Stopper" patrol off Brest broke down, and so did that of the aircraft of S.E. patrol next in order, which was ordered to return to base at 21.38 and not replaced because it was considered that, if the Germans had already come out, patrols farther up Channel would be sure to catch them, and that in any event they would be through the area patrolled by the S.E. patrol before a relief aircraft could arrive. In fact there was no effective reconnaissance between 19.40 and 22.38 on February 11. A daylight patrol on the 12th from Cap Gris Nez to the Somme did notice some small vessels at 08.30, but missed the big ships. No further routine air patrol was flown; but two fighter reconnaissances sighted at least one of the big ships, and on the report of the second, which saw and recognized the battle-cruisers, action was taken.

It appears probable therefore that the ships slipped through our night patrols owing to the unfortunate breakdown of the ASV in "Stopper" and S.E. patrols, and to the fact that the other patrols just missed them. In the best circumstances, the reliability and efficiency of ASV instruments could not at the time be assessed higher than approximately 50 per cent. The Report states that, having regard to the fact that it was known that the first "Stopper" patrol and the S.E. patrol had failed to function effectively on the night of February 11, it would have been prudent to make a daylight reconnaissance down Channel westward of the Cap Gris Nez–Somme area. It also remarks it would have been prudent to send out an aircraft to replace the aircraft on S.E. patrol as soon as information was received that its ASV was useless.

ASV Failed to Function

The significance was missed of an enemy attempt to jam the RDF screen which began approximately at 09.20 and continued intermittently for about 50 minutes when it became continuous.

The general opinion was that the Germans would make the attempt to run through the Channel by night, and that probability coloured all the actions and arrangements of Coastal Command and the Admiralty. When the authorities were suddenly confronted with the presence of the German ships in daylight, a little to the westward of the Straits, they had little time to organize fighter co-operation for an attack in the Straits.

Against fast, heavily armoured ships the most effective air weapon available was undoubtedly the torpedo bomber, and the provision of a powerful and highly trained striking force of torpedo bombers called for urgent consideration, states the Report. Contrary to expectation, a handful of comparatively slow M.T.B.'s which, owing to the

extreme urgency, were unsupported either by motor gunboats or by aircraft, were yet able to get within range and launch their torpedoes against the battle-cruisers, in broad daylight, subsequently withdrawing without loss: this suggested that a greatly increased force of an improved type of M.T.B. would be of the greatest value for offensive action against enemy fighting ships and transports in narrow or coastal waters. The most numerous force employed Bomber Command, played a comparatively ineffective if gallant part in the battle, due in the main to weather conditions; but the evidence showed that Bomber Command was not designed for effective attack on fast moving warships by day. Destroyers stationed at Harwich intercepted a signal at 11.56 and proceeded at top speed in the direction of the rendezvous, but visibility grew steadily worse all day. They did not sight the enemy until 15.43, and though one, the "Worcester," fired a torpedo from a range of 2,400 yards (the others being farther off), no effective hit was scored.

TANK PRODUCTION

Reports by the Select Committee on National Expenditure and Replies by the Government (1942 and 1944)

PRINCIPAL points in the Committee's critical memorandum of August 26, 1942, were, "The decision to go into large scale production of 6-pdr. guns ought to have been balanced by a plan so timed as to produce tanks to carry the guns when they were ready. In fact, time was wasted in working out the tank plan, especially in the stage of design. . . . The story of tanks and six-pounder guns seems to show lack of decisive direction, division of responsibilities as between tanks and guns, and failure to consult manufacturers until a late stage in the work on the design have led to failure to make full use of manufacturing resources in getting timely production of effective weapons. Other examples of similar failure have come to notice in the case of Self-Propelled Artillery. There has been a division of responsibility based apparently on a distinction between a tank carrying a gun (which has been treated as a 'tank') and a gun mounted on a tank chassis (which has been treated as 'self-propelled artillery')."

At the beginning of its second report, dated March 11, 1944, the Committee states, "The general conclusion [of its first report] was that there had been faults in organization which had led to avoidable waste of time, money and material resources. . . . Changes were made in the organization which appeared substantially to satisfy the Committee's recommendations" (*e.g.* that the "responsibility of the War Office and the Ministry of Supply should be more closely 'clamped together'"). The Committee, influenced to make its second report "by the consideration that unfavourable comment was prevalent about tank production," goes on, "On our review of the position, it is impossible to avoid the general impression that, measured in terms of production of tanks fit for current battle requirements, the British manufacturing effort of 1943 has fallen far short of realizing expectations or being fully effective, and has involved what appears to be a wasteful use of national resources." It then goes into detailed criticisms, and in a summing up says: "Whatever their significance, the main facts remain that, apart from the VALENTINE tank in Russia and the limited use of the CHURCHILL in Tunisia, no British tanks during 1943 have been considered worthy of a place in the main battles; that British tanks issued to British troops have gained a bad reputation both for mechanical reliability and fighting arrangements; that British factory workers have seen very large quantities of completed tanks broken up, or parts (finished and half-finished) piling up to be taken away as scrap; and that these things have combined to create a psychological atmosphere about British tanks among all concerned with handling them which must have unfortunate effects and which in our view deserves the urgent attention of the War Cabinet. The past record, in fact, puts the onus of proof very heavily on those who claim that all is now well with the organization for tank production. . . . The new organization has not fully 'made good' and the expectations recorded in the earlier Report have not been fulfilled."

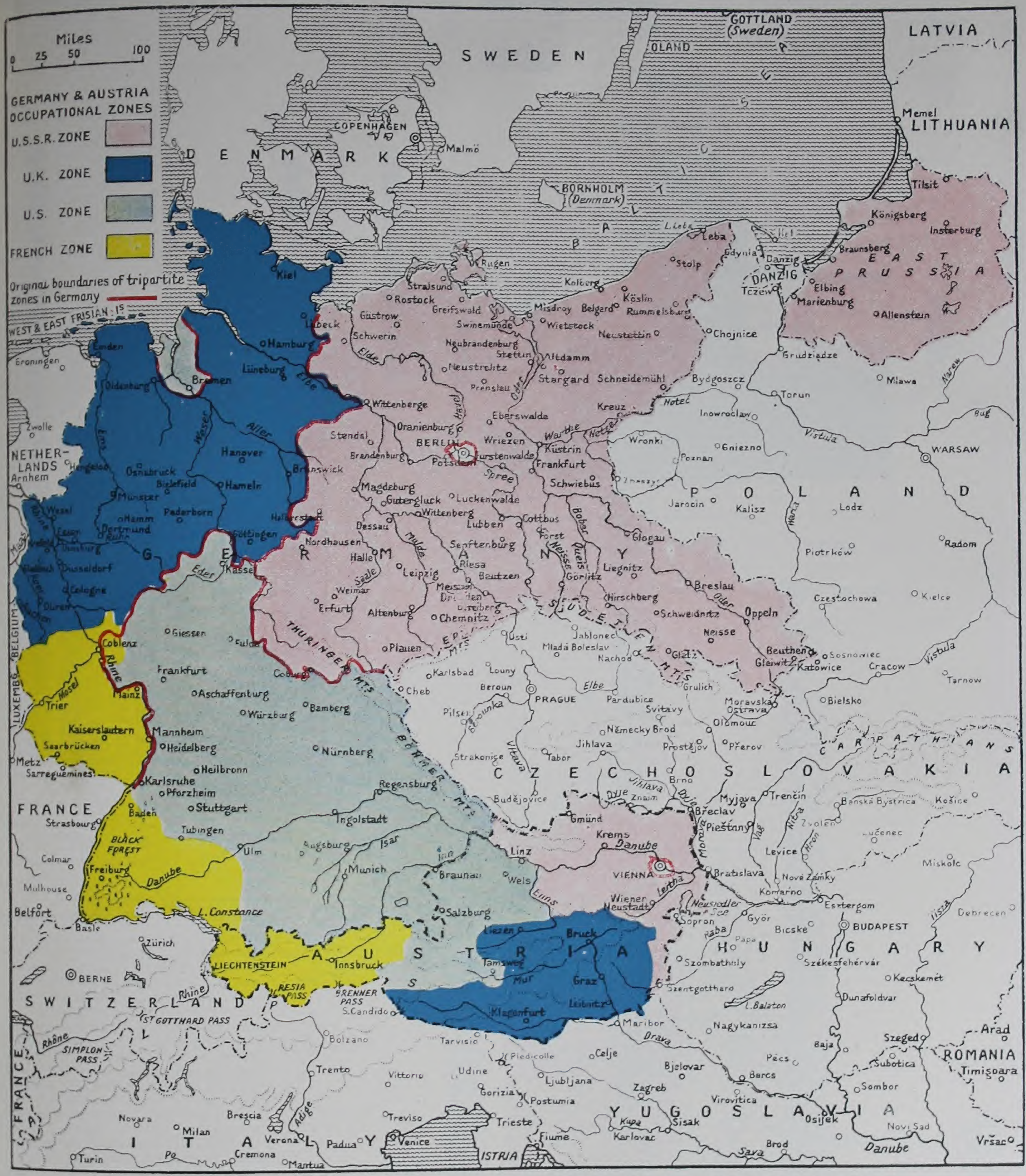
The War Cabinet's reply of August 2, 1944, includes comments from General Montgomery: "In the fighting [in Normandy] to date we have defeated the Germans in battle; and we have had no difficulty in dealing with German armour once we had grasped the problem.

War Cabinet Replies to Committee

In this connexion British armour has played a notable part. We have nothing to fear from the Panther and Tiger tanks; they are unreliable mechanically, and the Panther is very vulnerable from the flanks. Our 17-pdr. gun will go right through them. Provided our tactics are good we can defeat them without difficulty;" and from General Leese: "The Churchills stood up to a lot of punishment from heavy anti-tank guns. Several tanks were hard hit without the crews being injured. They got across some amazingly rough ground" [in the Adolf Hitler Line in Italy]. The Cabinet reply concludes by saying, "Further methods of strengthening such links [between the troops in the battle lines and the design and production organizations] are continually being studied. Officers with recent operational experience are kept in close touch with all stages of development. . . . It is agreed that it would be a national disaster if the country were to fail during the war to build up a first-class organization for producing British Tanks. With the growth of experience in industry and in Government establishments, this objective is being progressively achieved and the Committee need have no fear that every effort is not being exerted towards that end."

'BRITISH ARMOUR PLAYED A NOTABLE PART'

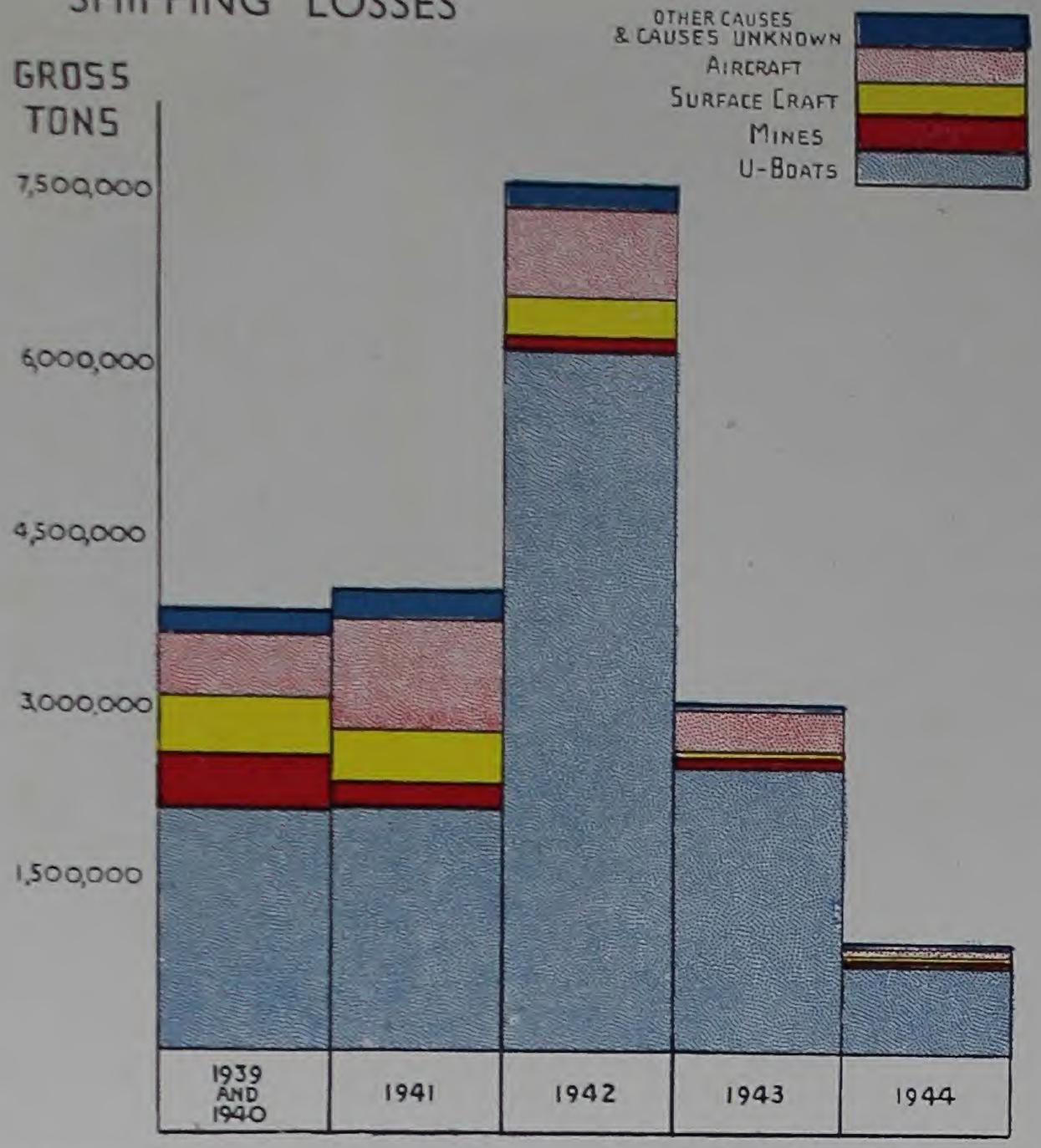
On May 10, 1945—two days after war in Europe had ended—it was disclosed that the British advance across Germany had been led by the 'Comet' (seen above), the fastest and heaviest cruiser tank to date, carrying heavier armour than the 'Cromwell,' a 77-mm. gun and new gun-laying devices. It played a major part in breaking up the German forces between the Rhine and the Elbe. *Photo, New York Times Photos*



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA UNDER ALLIED OCCUPATION

This official map shows the lines of demarcation of the British, French, American and Russian zones of occupation in Germany and Austria prior to the Berlin Conference, at which Germany east of the Oder and its tributary the west Neisse, and part of East Prussia, were placed under Polish administration (see map in page 3875). The Bremen enclave was transferred to the British authorities on December 10, 1945, the ports of Bremen and Bremerhaven, however, continuing to be operated by the Americans.

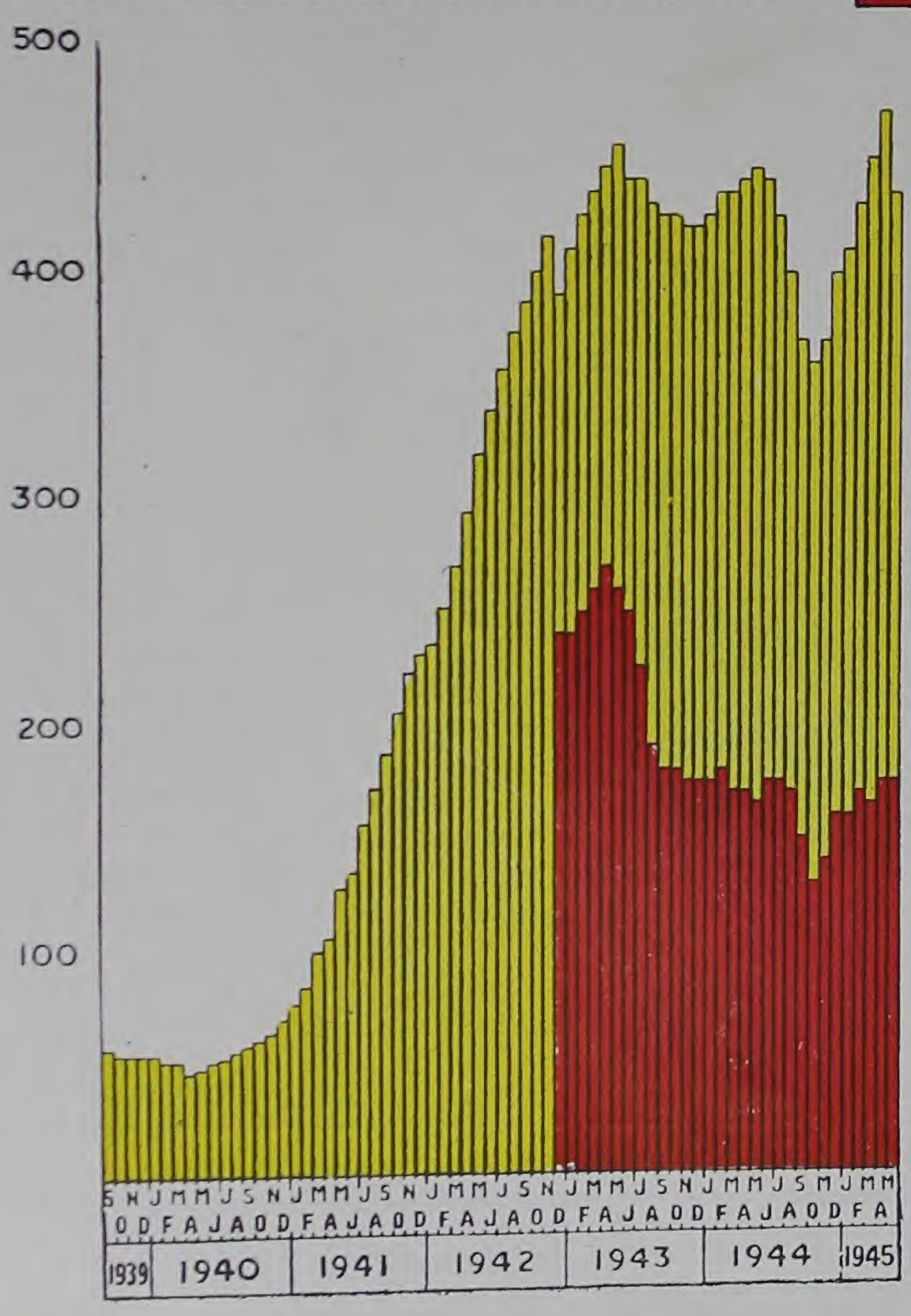
SHIPPING LOSSES



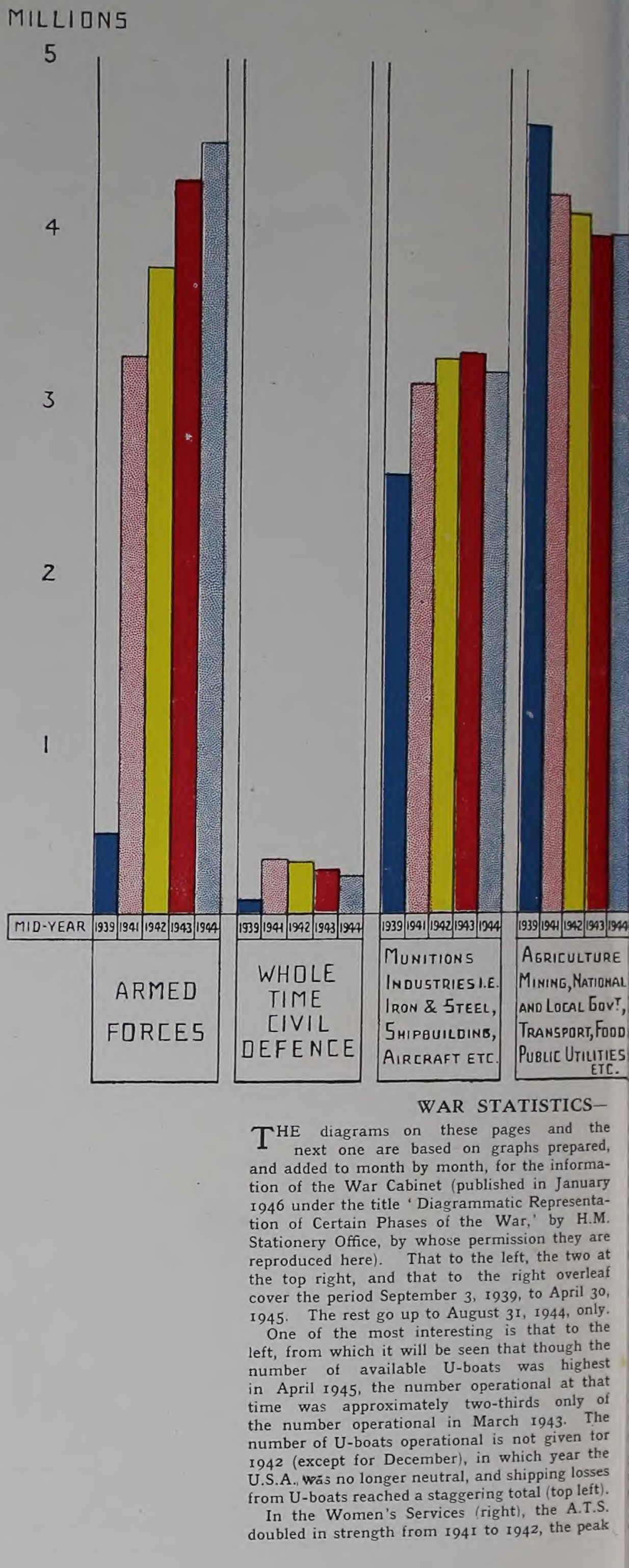
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF GERMAN U-BOATS AVAILABLE

ON 1ST OF EACH MONTH

ESTIMATED NUMBER OPERATIONAL SHOWN



ANALYSIS OF POPULATION

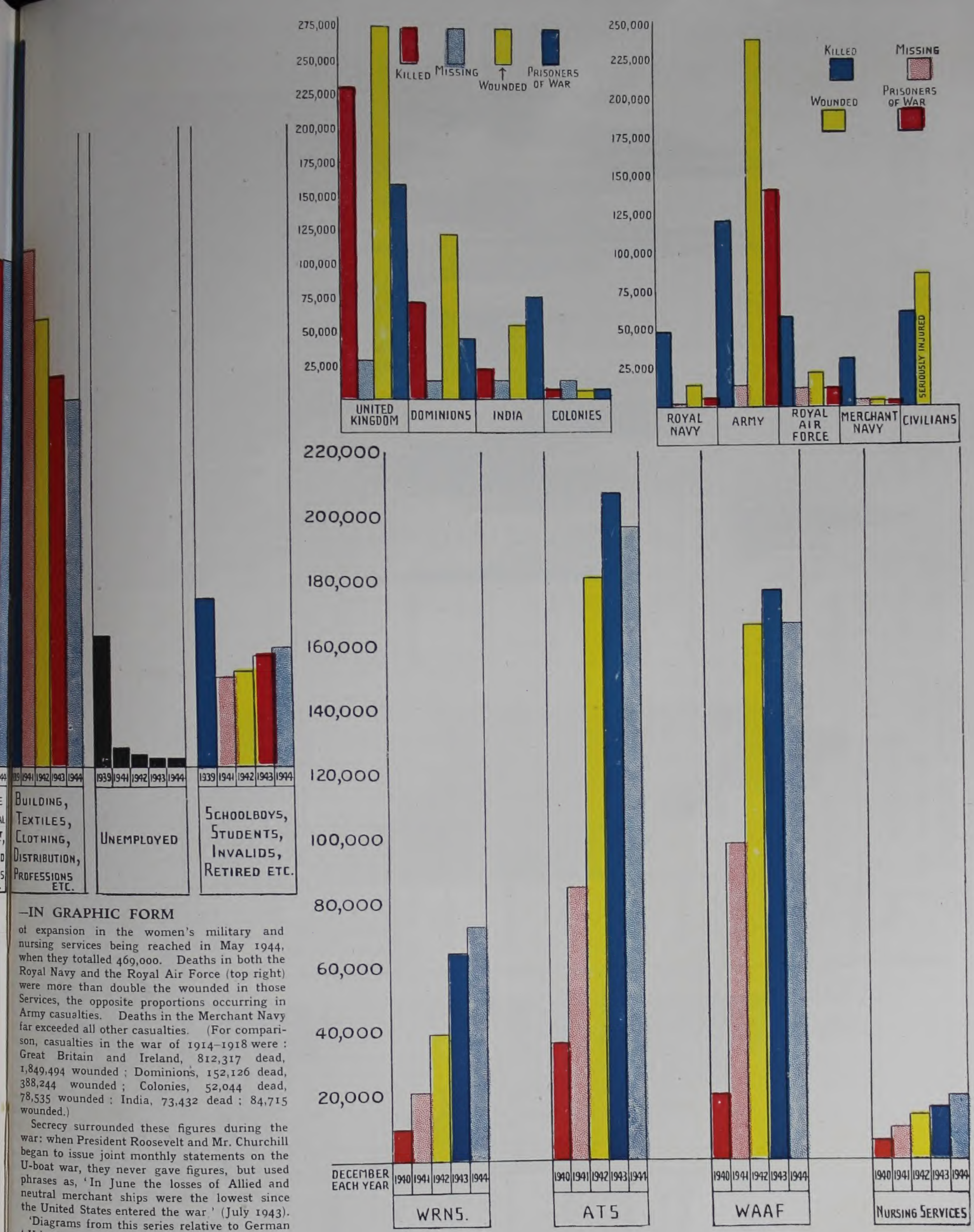


WAR STATISTICS—

THE diagrams on these pages and the next one are based on graphs prepared, and added to month by month, for the information of the War Cabinet (published in January 1946 under the title 'Diagrammatic Representation of Certain Phases of the War,' by H.M. Stationery Office, by whose permission they are reproduced here). That to the left, the two at the top right, and that to the right overleaf cover the period September 3, 1939, to April 30, 1945. The rest go up to August 31, 1944, only.

One of the most interesting is that to the left, from which it will be seen that though the number of available U-boats was highest in April 1945, the number operational at that time was approximately two-thirds only of the number operational in March 1943. The number of U-boats operational is not given tor 1942 (except for December), in which year the U.S.A., was no longer neutral, and shipping losses from U-boats reached a staggering total (top left).

In the Women's Services (right), the A.T.S. doubled in strength from 1941 to 1942, the peak



—IN GRAPHIC FORM

of expansion in the women's military and nursing services being reached in May 1944, when they totalled 469,000. Deaths in both the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force (top right) were more than double the wounded in those Services, the opposite proportions occurring in Army casualties. Deaths in the Merchant Navy far exceeded all other casualties. (For comparison, casualties in the war of 1914–1918 were : Great Britain and Ireland, 812,317 dead, 1,849,494 wounded ; Dominions, 152,126 dead, 388,244 wounded ; Colonies, 52,044 dead, 78,535 wounded : India, 73,432 dead ; 84,715 wounded.)

Secrecy surrounded these figures during the war: when President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill began to issue joint monthly statements on the U-boat war, they never gave figures, but used phrases as, 'In June the losses of Allied and neutral merchant ships were the lowest since the United States entered the war' (July 1943).

'Diagrams from this series relative to German 'V' weapons appear in pages 3432 and 3437.

GENERAL INDEX

This index is designed to give ready reference to literary and pictorial contents of THE SECOND GREAT WAR *Page numbers in italics indicate illustrations. Biographical data have been prefixed to entries relating to outstanding wartime personalities. In order to clarify reference to items dealing with much-fought-over regions, approximate dates have been inserted in parentheses. A systematic scheme of cross-reference is embodied.*

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ACREAGE

ACRES

22,000,000
20,000,000
18,000,000
16,000,000
14,000,000
12,000,000
10,000,000
8,000,000
6,000,000
4,000,000
2,000,000

OTHERS
POTATOES
OATS
BARLEY
WHEAT

1939 1940 1941 1942 1943 1944

ESTIMATED QUANTITY OF PRINCIPAL CROPS HARVESTED

TONS

22,000,000
20,000,000
18,000,000
16,000,000
14,000,000
12,000,000
10,000,000
8,000,000
6,000,000
4,000,000
2,000,000

SUGAR BEET
POTATOES
OATS
BARLEY
WHEAT

1939 1940 1941 1942 1943 1944

■ = SUGAR BEET

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM UNDER DEPARTMENTAL PROGRAMMES

TONS

5,500,000
5,000,000
4,500,000
4,000,000
3,500,000
3,000,000
2,500,000
2,000,000
1,500,000
1,000,000
500,000

MINISTRY OF SUPPLY MUNITIONS AND MISCELLANEOUS
MINISTRY OF FOOD
TANKER IMPORTS

S N J M M J S N J M M J S N J M M J S N J M M J S N J M M J S N J M
O D F A J A O D F A J A O D F A J A O D F A J A O D F A J A O D F A

1939 1940 1941 1942 1943 1944 1945

BRITAIN'S WARTIME FOOD AND SUPPLIES

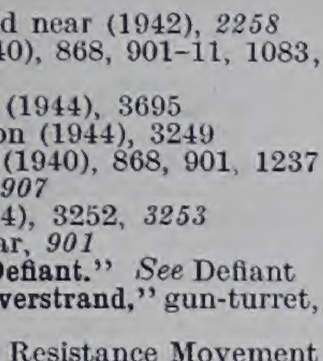
It was known during the war that the acreage and total production of British arable agriculture had increased considerably, but not till after the end of hostilities was precise information released. The expansion in the most important sections of British arable agriculture is illustrated here. The right-hand diagram shows the fluctuations month by month in imports of different categories.

Imports of the Ministry of Food are analysed diagrammatically in page 4031.

ALEXANDER, Field - Marshal Viscount, of Tunis, of Errigal (b. 1891). Served throughout First Great War. Maj.-Gen. commanding the 1st Div. when it embarked or France, Sept. 1939. Took command in Burma Mar. 5, 1942, successfully conducting British and Indian retreat to India. C.-in-C. Middle East, 1942-43; Deputy C.-in-C. Allied Forces, Mediterranean, 1943; C.-in-C. Allied Forces, Italy 1944; Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean, 1944-45. Received first German unconditional surrender in Europe, Caserta, May 2, 1945. Field-Marshal June 4, 1944; Governor-General of Canada, 1946. Knighted 1942; raised to peerage 1946.

ANDERSON, Lieutenant-General Sir Kenneth Arthur Noel (b. 1891), Commissioned in Seaforth Highlanders, 1911; served in First Great War, and commanded 14th Infantry Brigade and later 3rd Div. B.E.F., 1939-40. Promoted Maj.-Gen. in 1940, G.O.C.-in-C. Eastern Command prior to commanding British 1st Army in French North Africa. Returned to Eastern Command, 1944, having been promoted Lt.-Gen. previous year. G.O.C.-in-C., East Africa, 1945. Created K.C.B. 1943.

B



BRADLEY, General Omar Nelson (b. 1893). Commissioned from West Point, 1915. Went to French N. Africa to command U.S. II Corps, Feb. 1943, being promoted Lt.-Gen. in same year. Commanded 12th Army Group from invasion of Normandy, June 1944, until end of War. Appointed Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, created honorary K.C.B. and promoted General, 1945.

C

D

The part played by women in Britain's war effort

REPLACING MEN

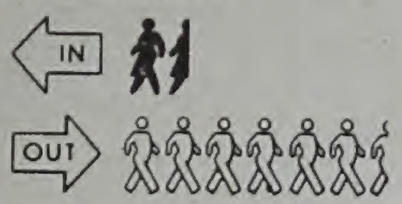
4 examples from Group 2 Industries

Each BLACK symbol represents **10,000** women added
Each WHITE symbol represents **10,000** men withdrawn

AGRICULTURE ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE

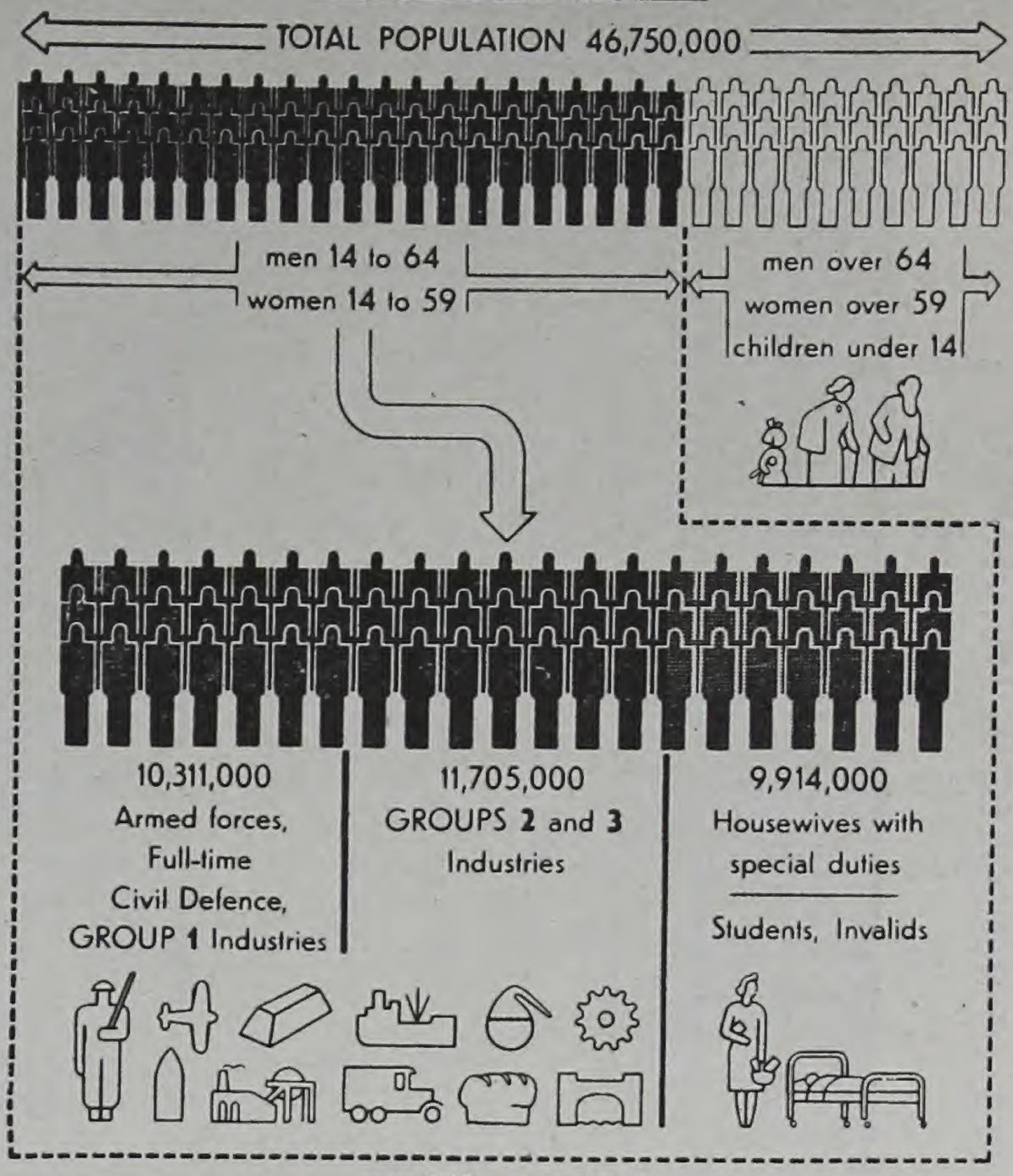
PUBLIC UTILITY SERVICES



TRANSPORT. SHIPPING AND FISHING

The total number of men in all branches of Group 2 industries fell by 600,000 and the number of women rose by 800,000

Britain mobilized with all her might



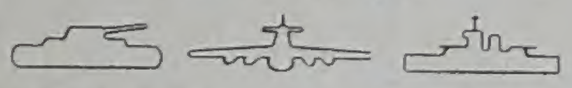
JUNE 1939 — JUNE 1944

DETAILS OF BRITAIN'S WAR EFFORT

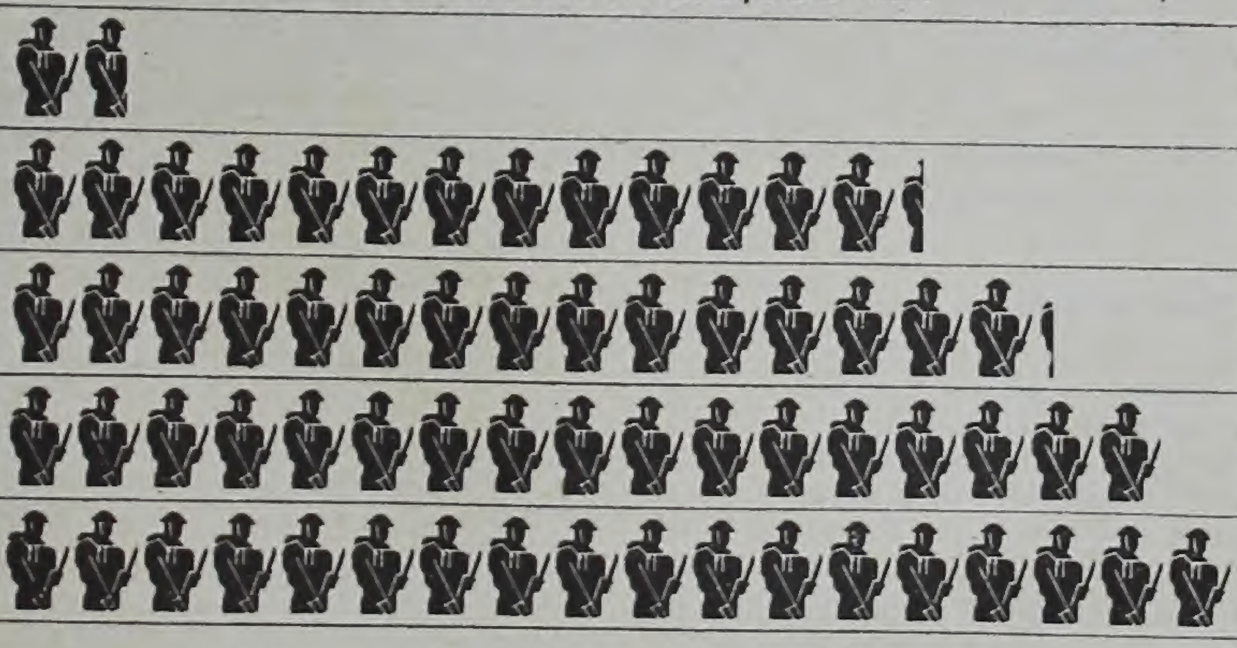
These diagrams are from a White Paper issued in Nov. 1944. Group 1 industries include munitions, aircraft, shipbuilding, chemicals and explosives. Group 2, agriculture, mining, Government service, gas, water, transport, food, etc.; Group 3, building, civil engineering, clothing, distributive trades, commerce, and professional services.

Men of the United Kingdom under Arms

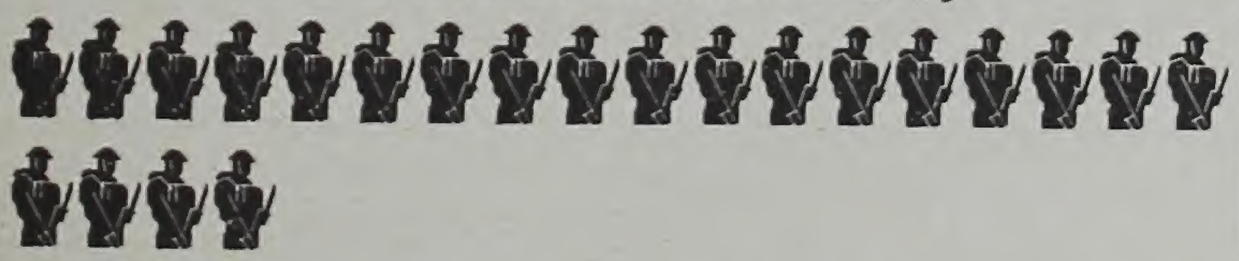
(In June of each year)



EACH SYMBOL REPRESENTS **250,000** MEN



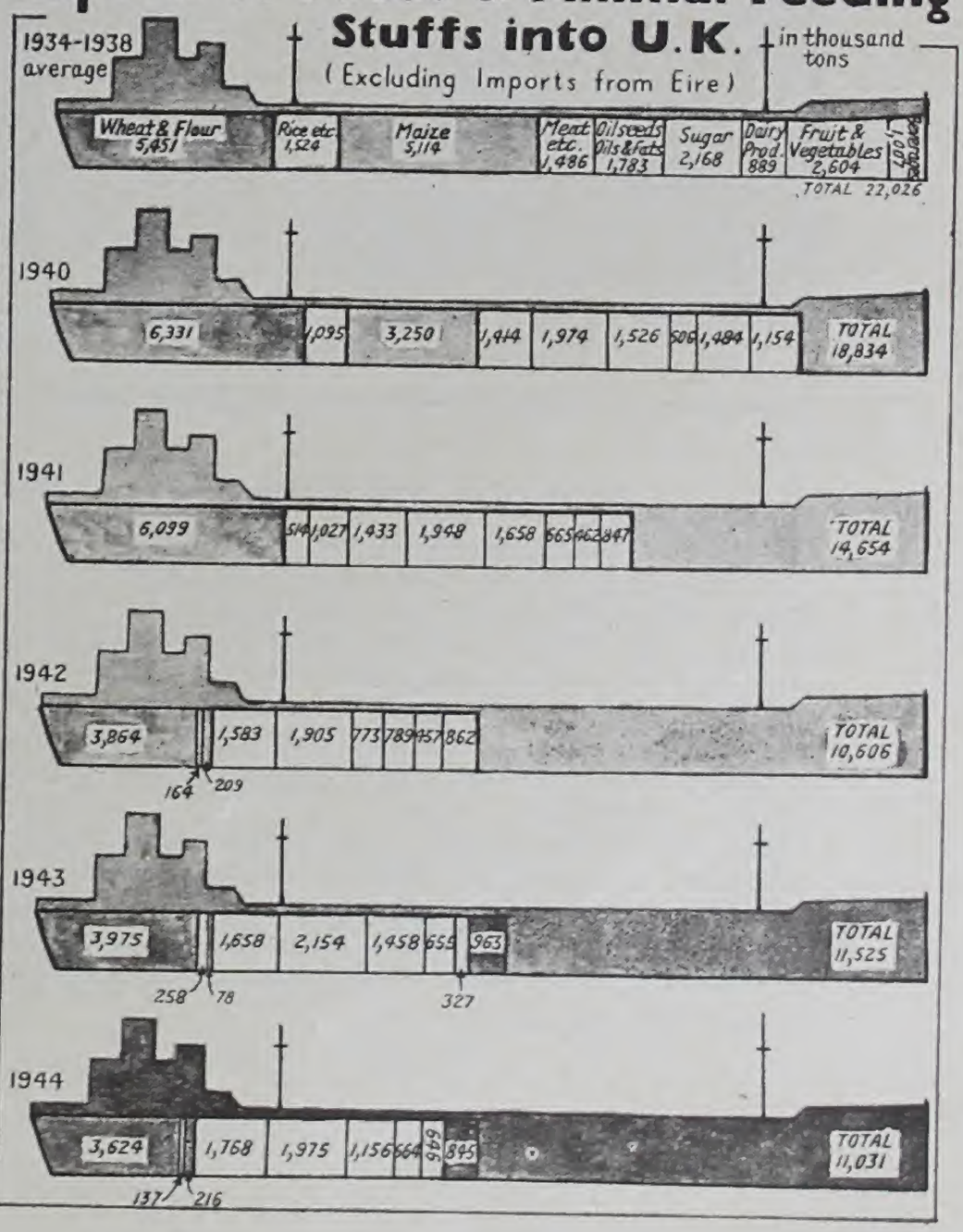
Total number of men who have served or are serving

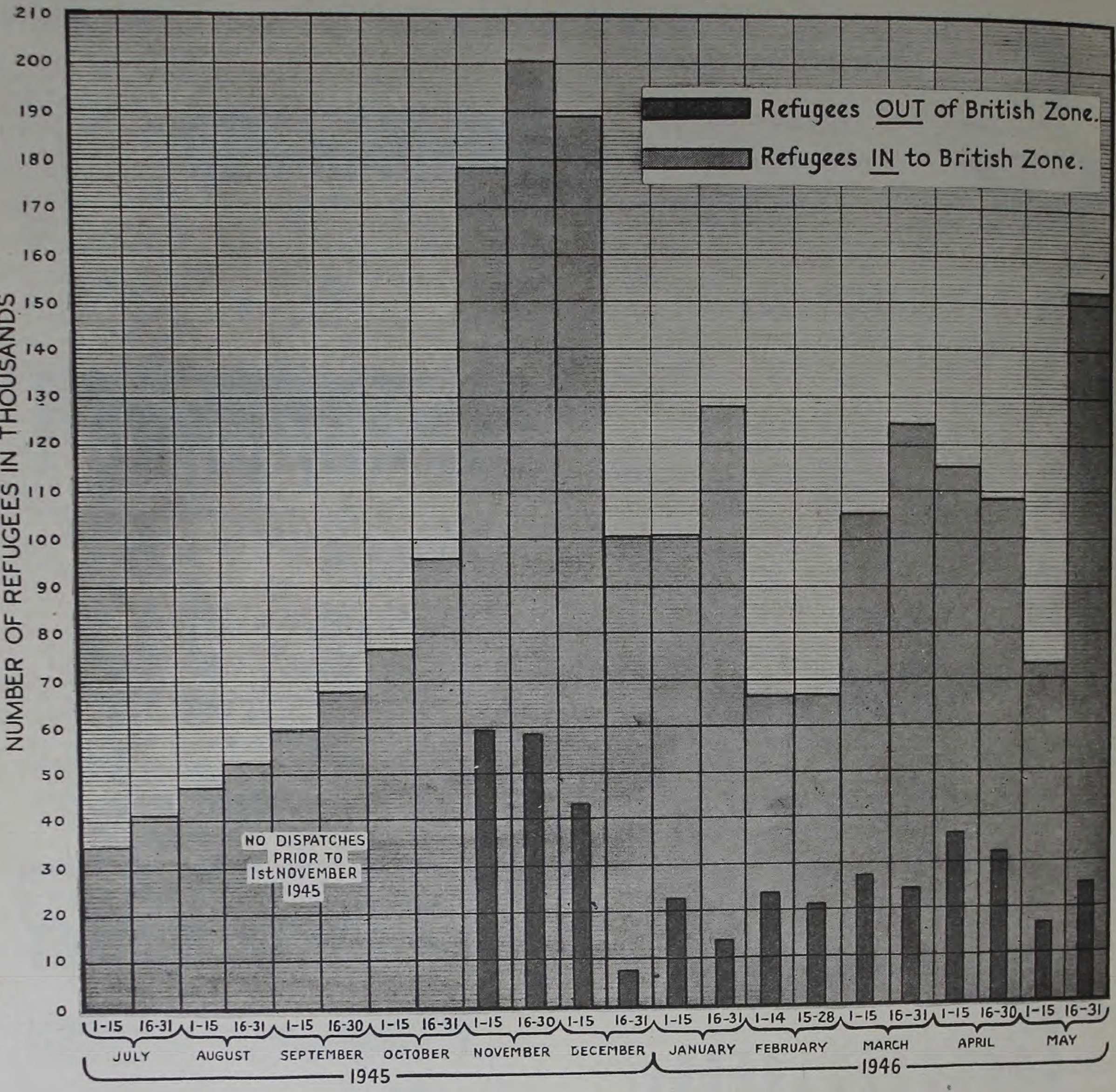


Including the number killed, missing, taken prisoner or released on medical and other grounds, the total during this war is over **5,500,000**

Imports of Foods & Animal Feeding Stuffs into U.K.

(Excluding Imports from Eire)

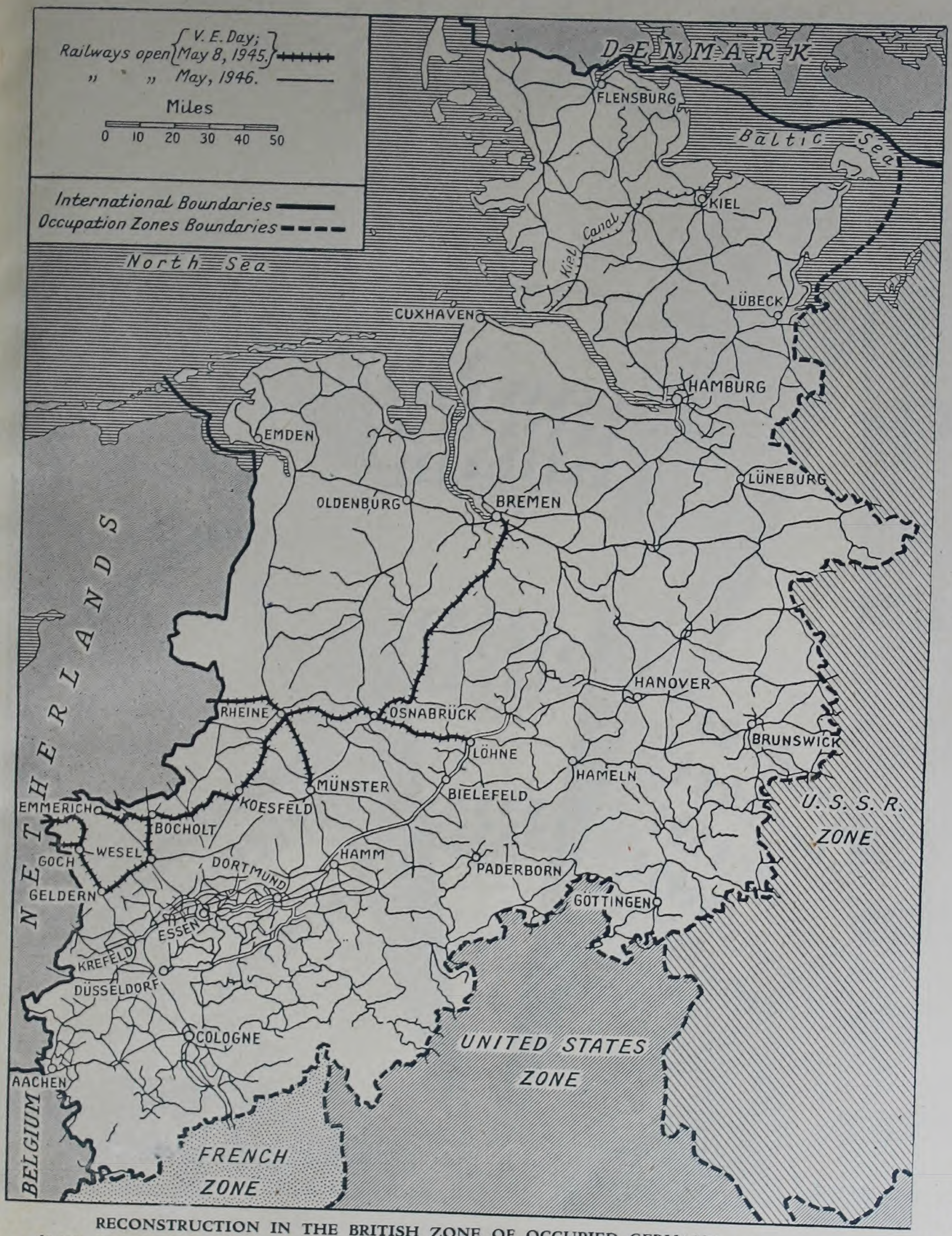




REFUGEE MOVEMENTS IN BRITISH ZONE

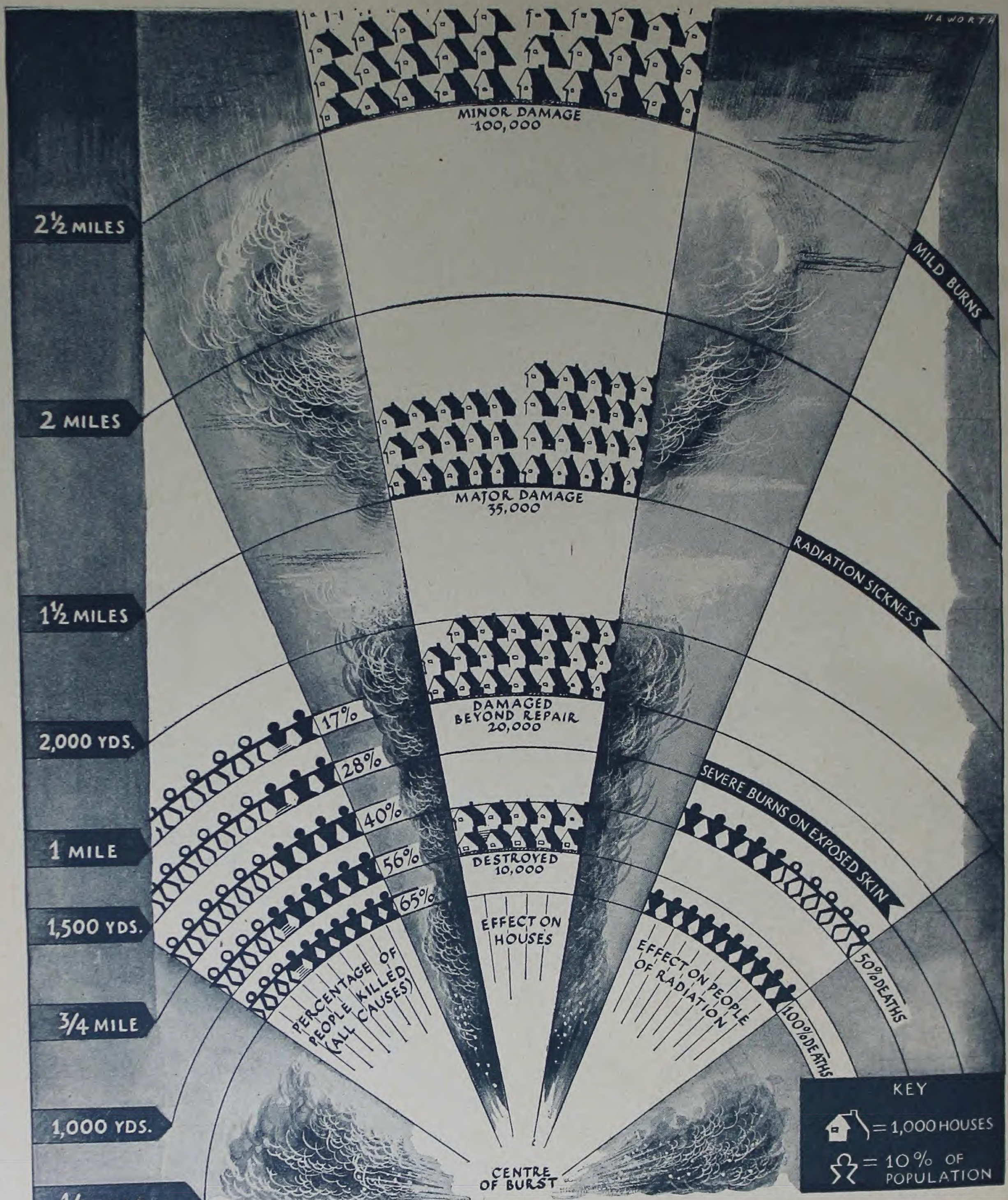
THIS diagram—exhibited at the 'Germany Under Control' exhibition in London during June–July 1946—shows the movement of refugees in and out of the British zone of Germany from July 1945 to May 1946. It does not include prisoners of war. The intake from the Russian, U.S., and French zones, and from Austria on a head-for-head exchange basis, totalled 1,603,000. Intake on an other than head-for-head exchange basis totalled 2,324,500, being made up as follows : from Russia, 770,000 ; Poland, 1,500,000 ; Norway, 4,000 ; Denmark, 4,500 ; The Netherlands, 800 ; Belgium, 1,200 ; France, 2,000 ; Spain, 16,000 ; United Kingdom, 15,000 ; Empire, 10,000 ; and U.S.A., 1,000.

Those leaving the British zone for the Russian, U.S. and French zones and Austria numbered 1,142,000, of whom 1,046,000 went to the Russian zone. The excess of incoming over outgoing refugees was therefore 1,182,500. The great mass of the 1,500,000 refugees described as from Poland were former inhabitants of the areas east of the Oder placed under Polish administration by decision of the Berlin Conference of 1945 (see page 3931).



RECONSTRUCTION IN THE BRITISH ZONE OF OCCUPIED GERMANY

In 1939, there were in what became the British zone of Germany 7,588 route miles of railway track. On V.E. Day, only 650 miles were in operation. By December 1945, 7,210 miles were in working order. This map is based on one displayed at the 'Germany Under Control' Exhibition held in London in June–July 1946, another exhibit at which was a specimen of the so called 'Volkswagen' or 'People's Car,' for which the German people had paid in some £18,000,000 without seeing a car. The companies supposed to make it lay in the British zone, and after the occupation it was put into production for the use of the Control Commission for Germany (British Section).



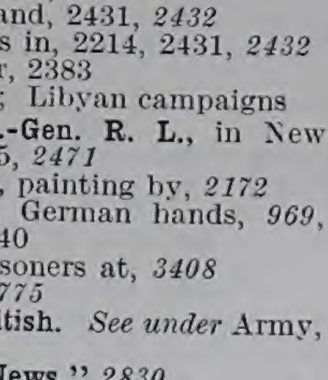
PROBABLE EFFECTS OF ATOMIC BOMB EXPLODED OVER BRITISH URBAN AREA

This diagram, based on a graph reproduced in the report by the British Mission to Japan on 'The Effects of the Atomic Bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki' (see page 3847), indicates probable deaths and probable damage to houses which, the experts estimated, would be caused by similar bombs exploded in the air at the same height in an urban area in the British Isles. The probable scale of casualties, remarks the report, would 'make the mere disposal of the dead a major problem.'

Drawn by Haworth

E

EISENHOWER, General of the Army, Dwight David (b. 1890). Chief of Staff U.S. 3rd Army, 1941. Promoted Lt.-Gen. and commander European Theatre of Operations, June, 1942. Led U.S. forces N. Africa, Nov. 8, 1942. Supreme Commander Allied Forces N. Africa and promoted Gen., Feb. 1943. – Led Allied armies N.W. Europe, 1944-45; promoted Gen. of the Army, Dec. 1944. Commanded U.S. Zone of Occupation after German surrender. Chief of Staff U.S. Army, 1945. G.C.B., 1943; O.M., 1945.



F

G

H

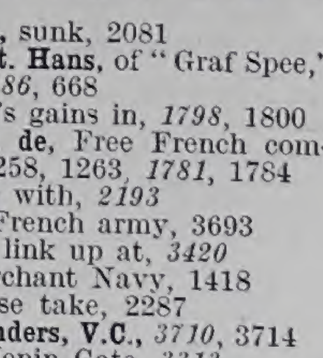
J

K

KEITEL, Field-Marshal Wilhelm (b. 1882). Chief of Supreme Command, German armed forces, Feb. 1938. Urged Hitler to attack through Low Countries, May 1940. Promoted F.-M., July 1940. Signatory to final act of Germany's unconditional surrender, May 1945; major war criminal tried by International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 1945-46; sentenced to death.

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie (b. 1874). Prime Minister of Canada. Concluded Ogdensbury Agreement with Roosevelt, Aug. 1940, instituting Permanent Joint Defence Board for study of defence problems relating to northern half of Western Hemisphere. Attended Quebec Conference, 1943; discussed control of atomic energy and secret method of production with Truman and Attlee, Washington, Nov. 1945. C.M.G., 1906; P.C., 1922.

L

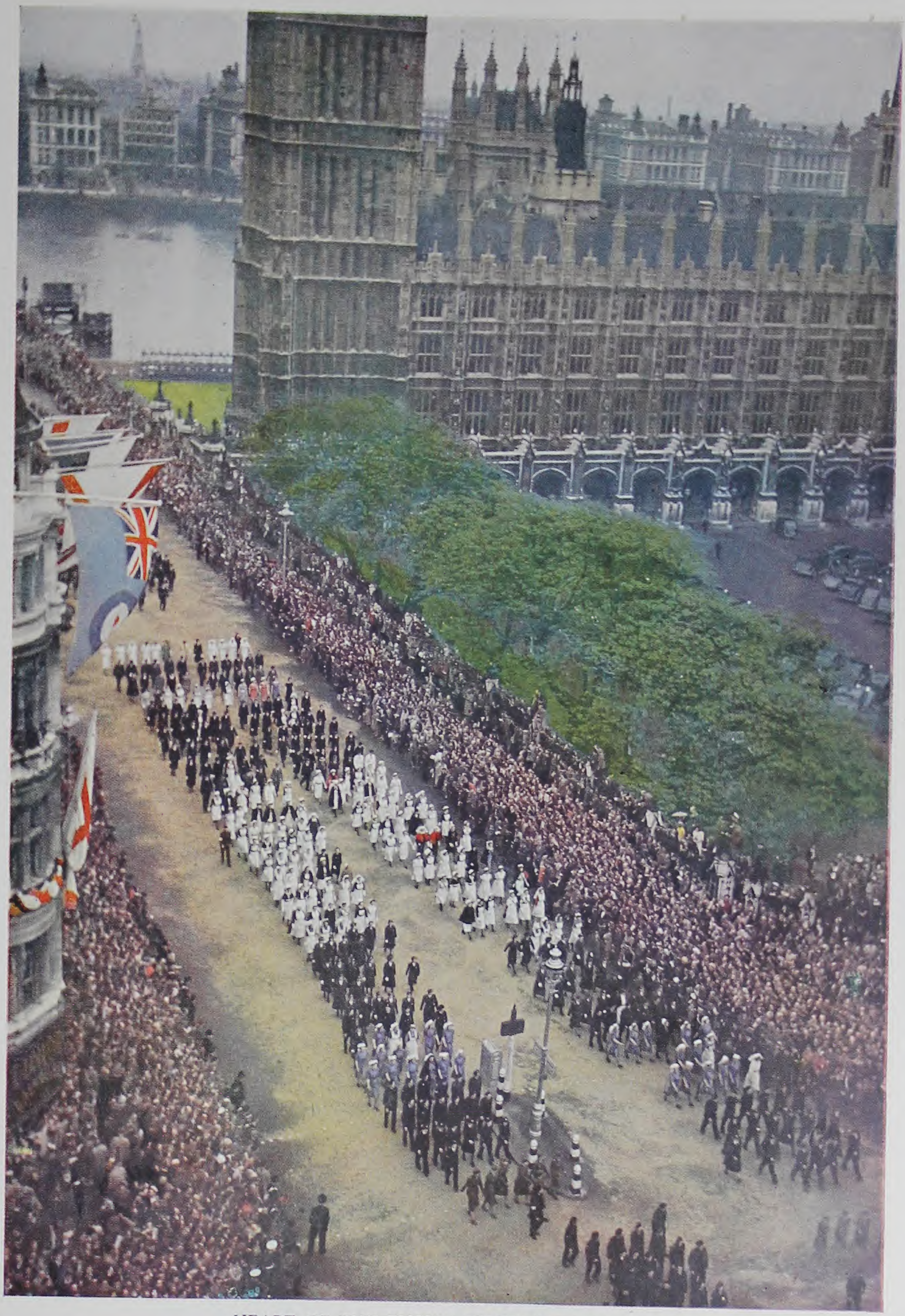


M

MOUNTBATTEN, Admiral Viscount, of Burma (b. 1900). A cousin of King George VI; distinguished himself as destroyer commander early in 2nd Great War. Chief of Combined Operations with acting rank of Vice-Adm. Mar. 15, 1942. Supreme Allied Commander, S.-E. Asia, Aug.; promoted Adm., Sept. 1943. Directed Allied offensive that liberated Burma; received surrender of Japanese forces, S.E. Asia, Singapore, Sept. 12, 1945. K.C.B., 1945; viscounty, 1946.

MUSSOLINI, Benito, Dictator of Italy. (1883-1945). When France collapsed, June 1940, Italy declared war on Great Britain and France; later joined Tripartite Pact. Mussolini launched attack on Greece, autumn 1940, which was repulsed. Lost Cyrenaica, N. Africa, 1941-42; Italian East Africa, 1941. After invasion of Sicily, admitted grave discontent in Italy; resigned July 25, 1943. Imprisoned; rescued by German parachutists; re-arrested by Italian partisans, Dongo, Lake Como, and shot, Apr. 28, 1945.

N



HEART OF THE EMPIRE CELEBRATES FINAL VICTORY

London held its Victory Parade on Saturday June 8, 1946, when the King took the salute from British, Empire and Allied forces in the Mall. The Civil Defence section here swings past the Houses of Parliament into Whitehall.

To face p. 4054

Direct colour photograph by Pictorial Press

PEACE Conference of the twenty-one Allied nations, convened to draft treaties with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Finland, began in the Luxembourg Palace in Paris on July 29, 1946. It was formally opened by Mr. Georges Bidault, French Premier and Foreign Minister. Debates at times were stormy and frank to a degree. Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, provoked much discussion at the first Plenary Session by claiming that the 16 small nations represented in addition to the Big Five—Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., France, and China—should have an equal right in making the peace.

After prolonged deliberations which at times threatened to end in deadlock, it was not until August 7 that the Committee on Procedure reached agreement on the methods of voting to be adopted. By 15 votes to 6, it was finally agreed to accept the British compromise amendment whereby all recommendations, whether passed by a simple or a two-thirds majority, should automatically go forward to the Foreign Ministers' Council. On the question of chairmanship the Committee on Procedure on August 2 decided that this office should rotate between the 'Big Five.'

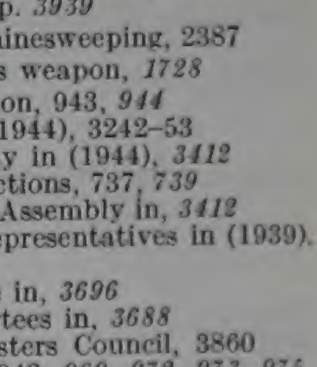
At the opening stages of the Conference the British delegation was led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Clement R. Attlee, in the absence, through illness, of Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary. Here, Mr. Attlee addresses the Conference on July 30. Above him is Mr. Georges Bidault ; below, some of the team of interpreters.

Photo, Associated Press

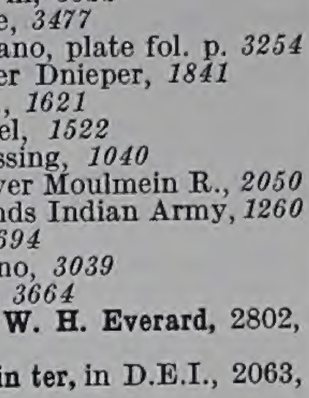
To face page 4055

O

P



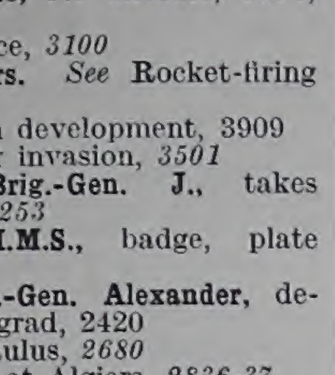
PARK, Air Chief Marshal Sir Keith Rodney (b. 1892). Commander No. 11 Fighter Group, R.A.F., during Battle of Britain, 1940; responsible for defence of London and S.E. coast. Commanded R.A.F. in Egypt; A.O.C. R.A.F., Malta, 1942-43; A.O.C.-in-C., Middle East, 1944-45. Allied Air C.-in-C., S.E. Asia, Feb. 1945 to Jan. 1946. K.B.E., 1942; K.C.B., 1945.



PORTAL, Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Viscount, of Hungerford (b.1893). Air Member for Personnel in February 1939; A.O.C.-in-C., Bomber Command, R.A.F., Mar. 1940. Chief of Air Staff, Oct. 1940—Jan. 1, 1946. Retired January 1946; appointed head of dept. of Ministry of Supply dealing with materials for atomic energy. K.C.B., 1940; O.M., 1946; Viscounty, 1946.

Q

R



S

T

TRUMAN, Harry Shippe, President of the United States (b. 1884). Senator for Missouri, 1934; re-elected 1940; supported Roosevelt from time of "New Deal" onwards. Chairman of Senate Committee investigating war expenditures. Vice-Pres., Nov. 7, 1944; took office, Jan. 20, 1945. Succeeded to Presidency, April 12, 1945, on death of Roosevelt. Opened San Francisco Conference, April 1945; attended Berlin Conference, July 1945, with Churchill and Stalin. Announced end of Lend-Lease, Aug. 21, 1945.

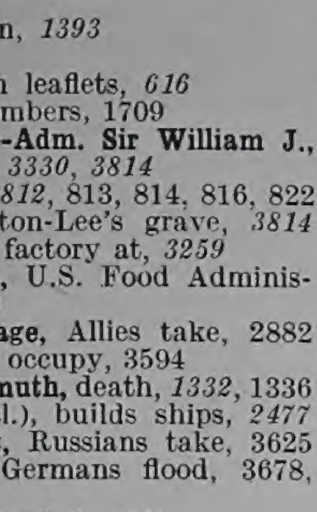
Karsh

U

V

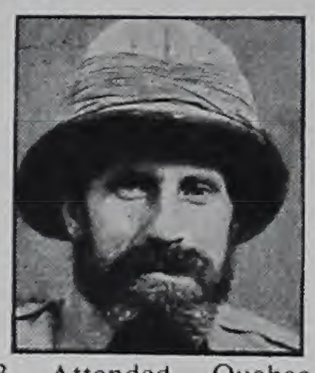
VOROSHILOV Marshal Klement Efremovich (b. 1881). Marshal of Soviet Union, 1935; Vice-Premier, May 8, 1940, succeeded as Defence Commissar by Timoshenko. C.-in-C. N. Front, Aug.; defended Leningrad until Oct. 1941. Trained new Russian armies; directed relief of Leningrad, Jan. 1943. Signed armistice with Hungary, Jan. 21, 1945; Chief of Allied Control Commission, Hungary. Member of Supreme Soviet, Feb. 1946.

W



WILHELMINA Queen of the Netherlands (b. 1880). After German parachutists' attempt to capture her, came to England, May 1940. Broadcast, May 15, 1940, urging all Netherlanders never to submit. Established Govt. in London. Visited Canada, June; addressed joint session of Congress, Washington, Aug. 1942. Issued proclamation to liberated areas, Sept., 1944; returned to Netherlands, May 3, 1945; Order of Garter, 1944.

WILSON, Fld.-Marshal Baron, of Libya and of Stowlangtoft (b. 1881). Lt.-Gen. and G.O.C.-in-C., Egypt, 1939; led British advance in Libya, Jan. 1941. Commanded British troops, Greece, April 1941, and Allied forces against Vichy French, Syria, June 1941. Promoted Gen. 1941; G.O.C. 9th Army; C.-in-C., Persia-Iraq Command, 1942-43; C.-in-C., Middle East, 1943. Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre, Jan. 1944; headed British Joint Staff mission, Washington; promoted F.M., Dec. 1944. G.C.B., 1944; Baron, 1946.



WINGATE, Maj.-Gen. Orde Charles (1903-1944). Led guerilla forces, Abyssinia, 1941; went to India, 1942. Organized, trained and led Chindit columns operating behind Japanese lines, Burma, 1942-43. Attended Quebec and Washington Conferences, 1943. Organized new airborne operation on larger scale, Burma, Mar. 1944. Killed in aircraft accident, Burma, Mar. 24, 1944.

WOOLTON, Lord, of Liverpool (b. 1883). Dir.-Gen. of Equipment and Stores, Min. of Supply, 1939-40; Min. of Food, 1940-43. Min. of Reconstruction, 1943-45; Lord President of Council in Churchill's "caretaker" government, May-July, 1945. Served numerous Government Committees. Knighted, 1935; peerage, 1939; C.H., 1942.

X — Y

Z

CORRECTIONS

Page 91. Caption and middle picture: *this photograph is of the* Aircraft Carrier "Glorious," *not the* "Courageous."

Page 806. Air photo. Later officially established that photograph represents Dutch bridges in Maastricht town blown up by Allied sappers. The R.A.F. operation described in caption was carried out against bridges over Albert canal in Belgian territory, two miles outside Maastricht.

Page 1103. Col. 1, lines 1–14, and caption. Later information shows that actual circumstances were these: It was imperative that Surcouf should not run amuck and sink ships in the harbour. Commander Sprague and gallant crew of submarine he was then commanding had difficult task of preventing this. His object was achieved as direct result of well and carefully laid plan being carried out with great courage and determination. It was necessary to force entrance through hatches closed against boarding party. After gaining access to interior of submarine, in course of her capture resistance was encountered which unhappily resulted in Cmdr. Sprague, Lt. Griffiths, an A.B., and one French officer being killed. All other French ships in harbour were dealt with in same way, but any resistance shown was not of such nature as to cause casualties.

Page 1224. Col. 3, line 5 from bottom: *for* Rimmington, *read* Rimington.

Page 1353. Summary in chapter heading, last line: *for* "1941" *read* "1940."

Page 1354. Col. 3, line 7 from bottom: *for* Cavellero *read* Cavallero.

Page 1526. Col. 3, line 10 from bottom, *for* of *read* to.

Page 1756. Expert examination of the photographs which German propaganda alleged were those of the "Bismarck" suggests that in fact they show another German warship —either the "Scharnhorst" or the "Gneisenau."

Page 2197. Col. 3, lines 11, 12 and 13 should read: "War supplies began to roll over the highway in October 1942, but it was not until early in 1943 . . ."

Page 2318. Col. 1, line 12: *delete* "first."

Page 2474. Under date Sept. 2, 1942: *for* Duesseldorf, *read* Karlsruhe.

Page 2539. Col. 1, line 3: *for* has, *read* had.

Page 2582. Col. 2, lines 20–21: *for* "Allied Attack on Oran," *read* "Naval Battle of Casablanca"

Page 2584. Col. 3, lines 4–3 from end: *for* "but only one aircraft-carrier, H.M.S. Eagle. She was sunk on Aug. 11," *read* "and three aircraft-carriers. One, H.M.S. Eagle, was sunk on Aug. 11."

Page 2682. Col. 2, line 6: *for* Feb. 2, *read* Jan. 31.

Page 2692. Col. 3, line 2 of caption: *for* Jan., *read* Oct.

Page 2743. Bottom line of caption: *for* Naysmith, *read* Nasmith.

Page 2753. Col. 1, line 1 of caption: *for* Brigadier, *read* Major-General.

Page 2845. Col. 1, lines 41–2: *for* July 6, *read* July 9.

Page 2848. Col. 2, line 9: *for* Sept. 8, *read* Sept. 3.

Page 2873. Col. 3, line 8: *for* from, *read* to.

Page 2895. Caption, line 3; *for* July 1943, *read* April 1943.

Page 2897. Lower caption, line 1: *for* Dec. 8, *read* Dec. 7.

Page 2901. Col. 3, line 6 from bottom: *for* Order, *read* Ordre.

Page 3001. Lower caption; *transpose names* Gracey *and* Cowan.

Page 3005. Col. 2, last line: *for* Cochrane, *read* Cochran.

Page 3054. Caption, line 5: *for* 1945, *read* 1944.

Page 3150. Col. 1, line 15 from end: *for* "three times as much as expected," *read* "nearly a third more than was expected."

Page 3177. Col. 1, line 2: *for* Barreville-sur-Mer, *read* Barneville-sur-Mer.

Page 3239. Col. 2, line 21: *for* August 12, *read* April 12.

Page 3263. Col. 2, line 13: *for* 2nd, *read* 3rd.

Page 3275. Col. 3, line 3 from end: *for* December 30, *read* December 29.

Page 3322. Col. 1, line 2: *for* August 22, *read* August 20.

Page 3326. Col. 3, last line: *for* December 29, *read* December 28.

Page 3372, *add* under British Units: Army Catering Corps.

Page 3395. Col. 1, caption, line 2: *for* December 11, *read* December 12.

Page 3536. Map: against Cheduba I: *for* Jan. 27, *read* Jan. 26. Under Taungup, *for* March 13, *read* April. 16:

Page 3552. Col. 2, line 8 from end: *for* March 15, *read* March 21.

Page 3588. Col. 1, line 11: *for* Morotai and Halmahera, *read* Morotai in the Halmaheras.

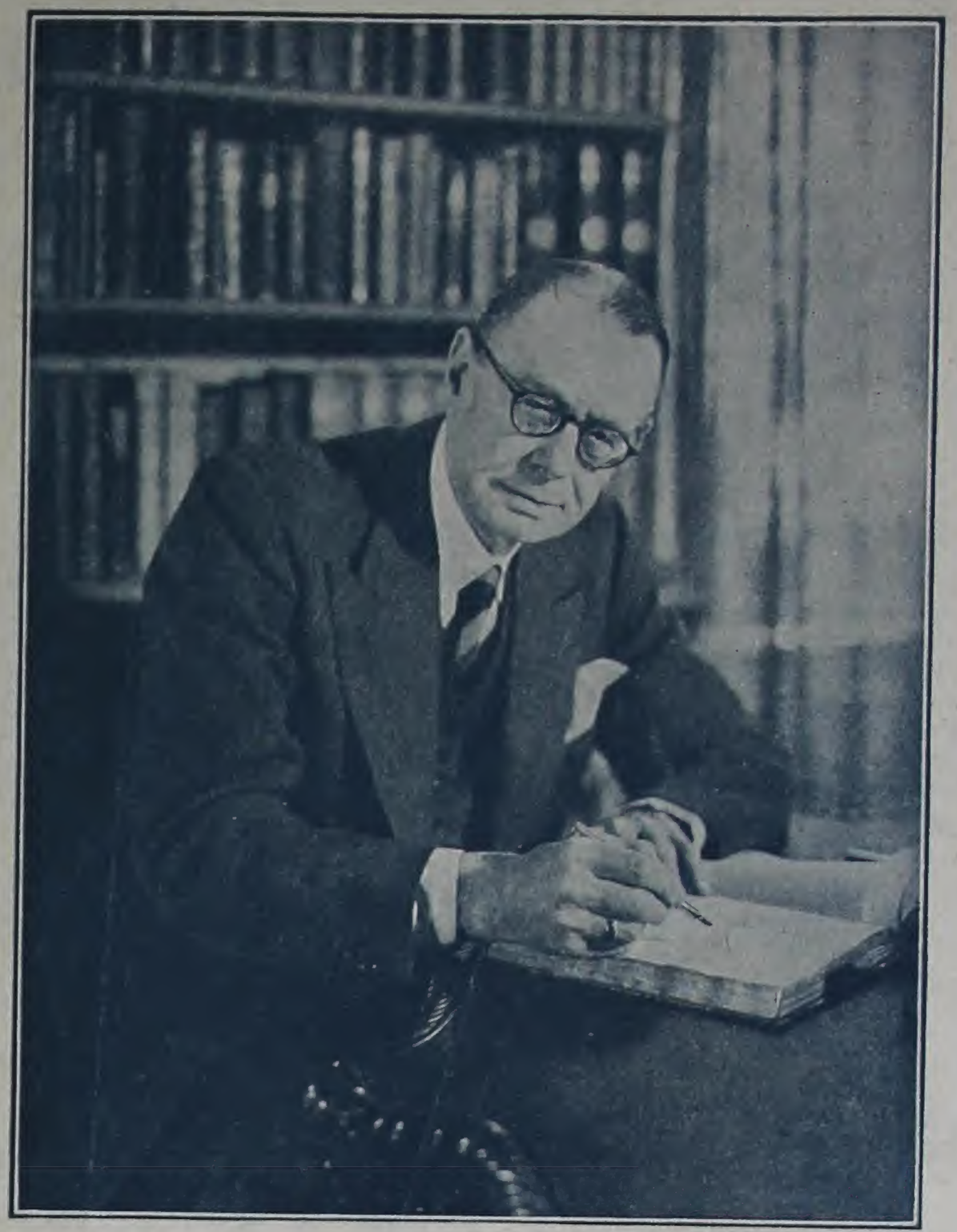
Page 3622. Col. 1, line 10, : *for* south-west, *read* north-west.

Page 3623. Col. 3, line 4: *for* Miskolc, but, *read* Miskolc. But.

Page 3628. *Delete* "R.A.F. attacked Gestapo H.Q., Copenhagen" under March 15.

Page 3777. Lower caption: *for* Sir Charles Shenton Thomas, *read* Sir Thomas Shenton Thomas.

Editor's Epilogue



Howard Coster

ONLY by the method of publication which has brought this contemporary chronicle of the Second Great War to completion could a work of its magnitude have been produced by private enterprise. We have seen official histories of one war take so long to gestate that they had not fully issued from the womb of Time before a new and greater war had developed . . . and the course of events in this new war would quickly falsify, perhaps render for ever obsolete, the findings of the learned military and naval experts as set forth in their still incomplete but eminently official record and review of its less grisly predecessor!

In this way the profoundest knowledge of a galaxy of expert contributors, marshalled with sedulous care by a succession of editors through many years, would eventually be entombed in a forbidding array of imposing tomes, at great cost to the taxpayers, few of whom would ever know of the existence of the monumental work. Such official histories are doubtless valuable as quarries of ascertained facts for the historians of a future day, but a contemporary chronicle such as that which has been assembled within the volumes of THE SECOND GREAT WAR claims no sort of relationship to them. It could well be described as The People's History of the First Total World War, 1939–1945—and no less a claim than that, if no higher, its Editor here submits, with the completed work now available for its verification. The title under which it has gone out to the world of readers was first chosen in 1939 as a natural successor to that of *The Great War*, 1914–1918, issued by the same publishers.

AMONG the flood of publications which the outbreak of the War in 1939 called forth—very few of which endured to completion—THE SECOND GREAT WAR stands alone, unique. The success it has already attained offers the completest justification of the serial method of publication. In my introductory note to the first serial number, the reader will find (p. 1, vol. 1) a brief forecast of the editorial plan, and in re-reading that note seven years afterwards, when I have the satisfaction of penning this closing page, I shall venture the statement that we have carried to a successful conclusion that programme which was outlined at a time when, most fortunately, few of the difficulties we were fated to struggle against in the task so enthusiastically entered upon were present in the minds of the Editor and his colleagues, else, indeed, these might well have daunted us.

To enumerate all the obstacles which beset our path of production, especially when our editorial offices and printing works had become storm centres of aerial attack in many of the most devastating visits of the *Luftwaffe*—an early bomb falling plumb in the street in front of the Editor's office, but fortunately doing little damage beyond closing the thoroughfare for five or six months—to recall the hundreds of alarms and excursions to our underground shelters, which punctuated our laborious days with exciting incidents, would be no more than to describe the daily trials of all toilers "in streaming London's central roar," where siren and falling bomb stressed the roar in a way the poet had scarcely imagined.

But it is worth remembering that the work of producing this contemporary history of the world's most exciting years went forward at the very core of the excitement, not without tremor or apprehension, but with such determination on the part of all concerned that their united labours have brought this vivid pictorial record to completion in a form which derives something from the very enthusiasm and excitement of those days and nights in which its production was achieved. Much that was obtainable in this way and at that time would else have been lost and difficult, if not impossible, to recover in any later effort to arrive at the completeness of text and picture which has here been secured by regularly sustained publication throughout those stirring seven years.

IT has been the privilege of the Editor to carry to their successful conclusion similar pictorial histories of the two greatest wars of modern times, the first in association with the late H. W. Wilson, famous as naval and military critic of the *Daily Mail*, and in the present work he has had the greatly valued co-operation of Maj.-Gen. Sir Charles Gwynn, K.C.B., D.S.O., one of the most scholarly exponents of the military art and a veteran in its practice. On every aspect of the military side of the war his counsel and collaboration have been invaluable, and many of our more important chapters have been written by him. It might be

said for both of us that, despite the uneasy Peace in which our respective editorial labours are ending and the rash talk of a third world war to be heard everywhere, not the least of our satisfactions is the reasonable hope that such another catastrophe will not come in the years that remain to either of us. But if this were to prove a vain hope, the present writer may at least console himself with the thought that he has now earned his release from the responsibility of making any further addition to the list of war publications which he began in 1914, some mention of which is made below.

To give the reader some idea of the immense total of information which has been accumulated in sequence of time within these volumes of THE SECOND GREAT WAR, I have made the following counts of our contents and will leave these to bear witness to the continuous labours of the editorial staff during the years in which the work has been in production.

DESCRIPTIVE AND CRITICAL TEXT

Three hundred and eighty-seven chapters, making an aggregate of over one and a half million words, wherein are covered critical and descriptive accounts of every campaign, every event of importance by land, sea, or in the air, and a comprehensive review of the social and political conditions obtaining in all countries concerned throughout the War years.

THE DIARY OF EVENTS

A complete day-by-day record of every event of any importance is given at suitable stages throughout the narrative, the total number of pages devoted to the Diary alone being fifty-five.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

No fewer than one hundred and sixteen pages comprising three hundred and thirteen separate documents totalling over one hundred and fifty-six thousand words are devoted to a skilful condensation of all the official pronouncements, agreements, pacts, and important speeches of War leaders, from the Chamberlain-Hitler exchanges of August 22 and 23, 1939, on the eve of the War, to the verdict of the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war guilt on September 30 and October 1, 1946. Our whole series of Historic Documents thus forms a continuous digest of the most momentous recorded words in that critical period of time which will change the course of world history for the next thousand years—as Hitler promised the Germans.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS

The pictorial abundance of these volumes is seen in the fact that, counting all varieties of illustrated items, there are upwards of seven thousand five hundred. In the main these are actual photographs of scenes from every theatre of the war, mostly taken at risk of life by accredited official photographers. But they also cover all the historic naval engagements and aerial activities, and include numerous photographs of the leading personages of every country involved in the world-wide conflict.

COLOURED PICTURES

The art of direct photography in colour made considerable progress during the last seven years, and *THE SECOND GREAT WAR* is perhaps the first publication of this kind to have made such use of it in its illustrations. While some hundred and thirty fine art plates containing over six hundred separate subjects printed in full colours add greatly to the attraction of the work as an artistic production, they also enhance its value as a work of reference in reproducing hundreds of ships' badges, Army formation signs, awards and decorations, striking examples of artists' war paintings, and portraits, all in correct natural colours.

MAPS & PLANS OF BATTLE-AREAS

These, of which by far the larger number have been expressly drawn to enable the reader more clearly to follow the narrative, are given as nearly as possible to the text which they were designed to accompany. Their total number exceeds three hundred.

THE GENERAL INDEX

This has been made a leading feature of *THE SECOND GREAT WAR* and runs to great length (120,000 words), with the object of giving the reader the fullest assistance in enabling him to find, with a minimum of delay, any particular event among the many thousands recorded. It is also, in a way, a " Who's Who " of the personalities who have come up to world fame in the course of the conflict, many of whom were previously unknown to the reading public.

IT will not be surprising that in the course of the seven years during which the publication of THE SECOND GREAT WAR has been maintained—first on a fortnightly basis before the acute shortage of paper made that inconvenient, and then for over five years as a monthly issue, until in the last year of its production we were able to revert to fortnightly parts—it will not surprise the reader to learn that from a variety of causes many changes had to be made in the editorial and contributing staffs who have assisted the Editor-in-chief. But I have been fortunate in the co-operation of Mr. J. R. Fawcett Thompson, who originally was concerned mainly with the art side of the publication, and from 1943 until its conclusion acted as Associate Editor, and Mr. John St. Denys Reed, who gave skilled service for some four years as an associate editor in charge of text, being eventually succeeded in that capacity, owing to reasons of health, by a very experienced journalist, Miss Irene Clephane. There are others who might be mentioned who rendered some temporary assistance, but it will suffice if I add the name of Mr. Alfred Bell, a veteran of pictorial journalism who has been an active member of our art department from start to finish.

Nor is it out of place to add that the publishers of the serial issue, The Amalgamated Press, Ltd., have a considerable line of war publications to their credit, dating back to the famous *With the Flag to Pretoria* (1900–1), and including *The Great War* (1914–1919, 13 Vols.), *The War Illustrated* (1914–19, 9 Vols.), *World War: A Pictured History* (1922, 2 Vols.), *A Popular History of the Great War* (1920, 6 Vols.), *I Was There! The Human Story of the Great War* (1938–9, 3 Vols.) and *The War Illustrated* (1939–1947, 10 Vols.), the last five named being produced under the present editorship. The Waverley Book Company, in association with The Amalgamated Press, began to issue THE SECOND GREAT WAR in volume form in 1940, and in their hands it has already met with such wide acceptance that its sale promises to eclipse all previous records for any war history first launched in serial form as a contemporary chronicle of events.

THE Editor's chief satisfaction abides in the knowledge that the work of those years of stress and strain devoted to THE SECOND GREAT WAR has produced a collection of pictorial documents that will endure and increase in interest as time goes on, and that readers of a future day will readily find within its literary pages authentic accounts of every happening of importance in those tremendous years when the British Commonwealth and Empire lived through some of her darkest hours to justify the faith of her great leaders in ultimate triumph. Long live the British Commonwealth and Empire!

J. A. Hammerton

October 1946

Title

Author

Accession No

Call No

BORROWER'S NO.	ISSUE DATE	BORROWER'S NO.	ISSUE DATE